

**RESPECT OF THE *TEXTUS TRADITUS*  
OR VENTURE INTO CONJECTURE?  
ON A RECENT INTERPRETATION OF *VITA CONSTANTINI* 13**

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Of course, it is much worse if a corruption remains undetected than if an incompact text is unjustly attacked. For every conjecture stimulates refutation which, in any case, improves the comprehension of the passage. (Maas 1927:9)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the concluding reflection (§ 34), inspired by this golden motto

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## 0. INTRODUCTION

The main goal of these pages is to make an opening in the *hortus clausus* of Cyrillo-Methodian philology and to rally to the discussion scholars of other disciplines, related to the diverse interests involved in VC: Byzantine-Slav relations, formation of the *legenda Christiana* (cf. note 61 below), Judeo-Christian apocryphal literature (cf. note 9 below), history of poetics in the Byzantine-Slav area in ancient and modern times (cf. §§ 30-32), etc. In accordance with this goal, both the technicalities of the craft of Old Slavic studies and elliptic approaches (so typical of sectorial science, which require of the reader much prior knowledge and lead to esoteric forms of presentation) should be avoided, without, however, renouncing to enter into the substance of the philological problems under discussion. Since this can be achieved by small adaptations (by explicating the implicit, by reducing presuppositions to a minimum, by providing translations of the Old Slavic passages quoted, etc.) without greatly offending the *emunctae nares* of practitioners in the field, it is well worth trying. The reader who is not familiar with Old Slavic studies and would rather skip these pages to reach the conclusion, will have to trust not only my good will, but my regret as well.<sup>2</sup>

## I. THE OBJECT OF THE DISCUSSION

### 1. *The Story of The Chalice of Solomon (StorCal) according to The Vita Constantini (VC)*

VC, Chapter 13, starting at the third paragraph,<sup>3</sup> tells how Constantine interpreted the Hebrew inscription cut in a ‘chalice of Solomon’, kept in the church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople, and in particular, how he deciphered the number at the end of the inscription. After a brief preamble, which functions as narrative frame ([Narr]), follows the text of the inscription ([Iscr]), of which the four elements ([I]-[IV]) are each preceded by a brief introductory formula. *StorCal* is concluded by the ‘computus’ [Razč] (from *razčisti* ‘to compute’) of the inscription’s final number:

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<sup>2</sup> Some questions of methodology and terminology connected with the concrete philological problems under discussion here could raise lengthy – and, to be honest, unproductive and, therefore, harmful – controversies. I have deliberately avoided them and have only brought together some of the most necessary specifications in §§ 16-17, while relegating others to footnotes (e.g. notes 50, 54 below).

<sup>3</sup> The first two paragraphs of VC 13 (cf. the text in note 63 below), placed by modern editors at the beginning of the chapter (it would perhaps be more appropriate to place them at the end of ch. 12, cf. Gošev 1938:40), do not seem to form part of *StorCal* (Picchio, apparently, contests this, cf. note 64 below). The function of VC 13:1-2 is to join *StorCal* to the account of the Khazarian mission.

- [Narr] 3 **Е**СТЬ ЖЕ ВЗ СВАТЪН СОФНН ПОТНРЬ · ОТЗ ДРАГАЕГО КАМЕНЕ · СОЛОМОНА  
ДЪЛА · НА НЕМЪЖЕ СЪТЪ ПНСМЕНЫ ЖНДОВЬСКИ Н САМАРЕНСКИ · ГРАНН НАПН-  
САНН · НХЗЖЕ НЕ МОЖАШЕ ННКСЗТОЖЕ ПОЧНСТН НН СЗКАЗАТИ · 4 ВЗЗЪМЗ ЖЕ  
ФНЛОСОФЗ ПОЧЪТЕ Н СЗКАЗА ·
- [Inscr] 5 **Е**СТЬ ЖЕ СНЦЕ ПРЪВАТЪ ГРАНЬ ·
- [Ia]        УАША МОТЪ ЧАША МОТЪ · ПРОРНЦАН ДОНЪДЪЖЕ СВЪЗДА ·
- [Ib]        ВЗ ПНВО БЪДН ГОСПОДН · ПРЪВЪНЫЦЮ БЗДАШЮ ПОШННЪ ·
- 6 **П**О СЕМЬ ЖЕ ДРОУГАТЪ ГРАНЬ ·
- [IIa]       НА ВЗКОУШЕННЕ ГОСПОДЪНЕ СЗТВОРЕНА · ДРЪВА ННОГО ·
- [IIb]       ПНН Н ОУПНН СА ВЕСЕЛНЕМЪ · Н ВЗСПНН АНЛОУЪ ·
- 7 **Н** ПО СЕМЬ ТРЕТНЪ ГРАНЬ ·
- [IIIa]      СѢ КЗНАСЪ Н ОУЗЪРНТЗ ВЪСЪ СЗНЫМЗ СЛАВЪ ЕГО ·
- [IIIb]      Н ДАВНДЗ ЦЪСАРЬ ПОСРЪДЪ НХЗ ·
- 8 **Н** ПО СЕМЬ ЧИСЛО НАПНСАНО ·
- [IV]       ДЕВАТЬ СЗТЗ Н ДЕВАТЕРО ·
- [Razč] 9 РАСЧЪТЗ ЖЕ Е ПО ТЪНЬКОУ ФНЛОСОФЗ · ОБРЪТЕ ОТЗ ДЗВАНДЕСАТЕ ЛЪТЗ  
ЦЪСАРЬСТВА СОЛОМОНА ДО ЦЪСАРЬСТВА ХРЪСТОВА · ДЕВАТЬ СЗТЗ Н ДЕВАТЬ  
ЛЪТЗ · 10 **Н** СЕ ЕСТЬ ПРОРОЧЕСТВО О ХРЪСТѢ ·<sup>4</sup>

[Narr] 3 Now there is in the Saint Sophia a chalice of precious stone, of Solomon's work,<sup>5</sup> on which there are verses written in Hebrew and Samaritan characters,<sup>6</sup> which no one could compute or interpret. 4 Having taken it [= the chalice with the inscription], the Philosopher computed and interpreted (it).

[Inscr] 5 *Such then is the first verse:*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This is the text (without apparatus) of my 'provisional critical edition' of *Stor Cal-VC* (cf. the article cited in note 157). The most controversial points of this passage will be subject to more ample discussion on the following pages.

<sup>5</sup> The apposition **СОЛОМОНА ДЪЛА** (cf. notes 119, 120 below), with which the chalice is presented at the beginning of *StorCal-VC*, could suggest that it was considered 'Solomonic' even before Constantine became involved with it (cf. note 61 below), but it could also anticipate Constantine's deciphering, the account of which follows. On Picchio's conjecture (**СОЛОМОНА ДЪЛА**) cf. § 19 below.

<sup>6</sup> If **Н** has no exegetic value ('Hebrew, i.e. Samaritan'), one could think either of a gloss entered into the text (which could either be the first or the second of the terms) or, perhaps better, of the use in the inscription of both forms of the same alphabet. On this question cf. also note 71 below.

<sup>7</sup> This formula and the others similar to it at the beginning of VC13:6-8 (in italics in the translation) suggest a segmentation of [Inscr] that is of importance for the interpretation of the text. Yet it is not certain that this segmentation hails from the Hebrew original; it could be the work of him who was responsible for *StorCal-VC*, or it could have originated in an intermediate stage between both. My idea is that originally [Inscr] was probably bipartite: [Iab]+[IIa] || [IIb]+[IIIab]; cf. § 29 below.

- [Ia] My chalice, my chalice, prophesy until the star (rises).  
 [Ib] Be for drink to the Lord, the First(-born) who wakes at night.  
*6 After this then the second verse:*<sup>8</sup>  
 [IIa] Made to the partaking of the Lord, from the other wood..  
 [IIb] Drink, and enebriate yourself with joy, and exclaim: Hallelujah.  
*7 And after this the third verse:*  
 [IIIa] Lo, the Prince, and the entire assembly shall see His glory.  
 [IIIb] And King David is in the midst of them.  
*8 And after this, there is a number written:*  
 [IV] Nine hundred and nine.

[Razč] <sup>9</sup> Now having subtly computed it, the Philosopher found (that) from the twelfth year of Solomon's reign to the reign of Christ there (are) nine hundred and nine years<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> And this is a prophecy about Christ.

## 2. A Greek Witness of *StorCal*: *StorCal-ES*

The pseudo-Solomonic inscription<sup>10</sup> of *StorCal-VC* is also known in Greek, but

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<sup>8</sup> In Capaldo 1990, I translated it less literally: 'This is the second verse' (litt. 'Afterwards comes the second verse', with  $\pi\omicron\ \varsigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  =  $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ , *postea*). At this occasion, I should like to point out that, if in *VC* 13: 5-7 the variant  $\Gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\zeta$  (m. sg.) is to be preferred to  $\Gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha$  (f. sg.), which I prefer, the stemmatic value being equal,  $\pi\omicron\ \varsigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  must be interpreted as 'post quem', i.e. 'after this (verse)'.

<sup>9</sup> The twelfth year of Solomon, calculated from the birth of Jesus Christ or from his resurrection, does not (according to any known Byzantine computus) correspond to 909 B.C. – Petkanova-Toteva 1985, 1986 considers the number symbolic, related to the value of 'renewal' and 'salvation' of the number 9 (Christ has renewed the world and saved humanity); Jakobson 1985: 237 hesitates between the attested 909 and a hypothetical 990 (which he considers to correspond historically to the twelfth year of Solomon), yet stresses the symbolic value of both numbers and their relation to the number 33 (composed of two 3, as the others are of two 9) at the end of *VC* 12. But the number 909 of *StorCal-VC* may simply result from a mechanical error (cf. Ševčenko 1967, Dobrev 1977, Capaldo 1990 and also § 26(b) below). – According to Petkanova-Toteva 1986: 575, even the number 12 is 'symbolic'; considering that Solomon is the builder of the Temple, it must allude to the Church (in fact, the number 12 is a very common symbol of the Church). No matter how the symbolic value of the number 12 should be taken into account in the exegesis of *StorCal*, it definitely refers to the Biblical story of 1 Kgs 6: 37-38, 7: 13-51 and 2 Chr 3-4, according to which Solomon, after the construction of the Temple, which lasted from the fourth to the eleventh year of his reign, in the twelfth year commissioned a famous craftsman from Tyre to make its equipment, including the vessels; thus, the reference to the twelfth years of Solomon's reign may be regarded as an explicit confirmation of the relationship of *StorCal-VC* with the Judeo-Christian apocryphal literature inspired by the building of the Temple of Jerusalem. – NB. The vessels mentioned in both Biblical passages are called  $\phi\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota$ ; the sole Solomonic Biblical passages where the chalice is called  $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ , as in *StorCal-ES*, are Prov 9: 2, 3 and SofS 7: 2.

<sup>10</sup> Both the contents and the dating make it evident that the inscription hails from Christian times.

in a shorter form ([Iab]+[IIb]) and deprived both of the narrative frame and the final com-putus (cf. Fig. 1). In its unique manuscript witness (*Scorial. gr. Ψ.III.7*, f. 317),<sup>11</sup> it has the title *Epigram on the Chalice of Solomon*, which allows us to identify it by the siglum *StorCal-ES*.

The title of *StorCal-ES* (Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Σολομῶντος) contains some elements that correspond to the narrative frame of *StorCal-VC*:

Thus, e.g. Ἐπίγραμμα corresponds to ΓΡΑΦΗ ΝΑΠΗΣΑΝΗ, which in Greek would be στίχοι ἐπιγεγραμμένοι, while τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Σολομῶντος corresponds to the parallel ΣΟΛΟΜΟΝΙΑ Δ'ΕΛΛ.

Even if there is a relationship between [Tit] of *StorCal-ES* and [Narr] of *StorCal-VC*, it is difficult to define whether the former condenses the latter or whether [Narr] expands a more ancient and lapidary [Tit]. Similarly, there are no reliable data to decide whether the small dossier of texts (ff.317-320)<sup>12</sup> into which *StorCal-ES* is inserted, represents an organic whole or a casual aggregation of unrelated textual materials.

### 3. Two Commented Church Slavic Versions of *StorCal* (Tolk1 and Tolk2): The Witnesses

In Church Slavic, *StorCal* also occurs in textual organisms other than VC. Save straightforward excerpts from VC itself,<sup>13</sup> it is then, as a rule, provided with a commentary (*Tolkovanie*).

According to the length of the commentary, we distinguish two versions of *StorCal-Tolk*:

**1** *StorCal-Tolk1* – with a long commentary to the text [I]-[III] intercalated between the separate lines –, witnessed only in a selection from christological prophecies from the Old Testament (*SSP*).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> It was first brought to notice by Ševčenko (1967). Cf. its text § 22 below. Andrés (1967) dates ff. 317-320 of the ms to the 12th century.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Andrés 1967:63-64 for an accurate analysis of this dossier. Here, I merely point out some texts that seem to have some relation (even if only by secondary association) to *StorCal-ES*: **a** the Chrysostomic communion prayer (Προσευχὴ τῆς κοινωνίας), *Inc.* Κύριε οὐκ εἰμι ἄξιος; **b** the letter of Pontius Pilate to the emperor Claudius (f.317v-318), cf. Tischendorf 1851:16-18; **c** a chiliastic text (“computation of the date for the End of the world, one thousand years after Christ’s First Coming, a chiliastic solution which I know from no other Byzantine source,” Ševčenko 1967:1811). Cf. also the observations § 25 and 28 below.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e.g. Nov.-Sof. 1418 (Petrov 1894:6, note) and 1449 (Sreznevskij 1867:96); cf. also Angelov-Kodov 1973:49 sq. to the effect that the commented versions of *StorCal* may also be included among straightforward excerpts from VC.

<sup>14</sup> I know of only one case where *StorCal-Tolk1* occurs outside of *SSP*, i.e. Viln. 80 (17th c.). Here, *StorCal-Tolk1* is presented as a dossier of texts complementary to VC (ff.487v-505v). In the margin of VC 13 (f.501v), the following annotation is given: ω сѣи чашѣ токованіе знаніе

2 *StorCal-Tolk2*<sup>15</sup> – with a short commentary placed at the end of the inscription –, witnessed in two different contexts:<sup>16</sup> **a** in exegetic-polemic collections (*TMO*, *MelSb*, *LavrSb*), and **b** in exegetic-chronographic collections (*PChrP*, *PChrK*):

- 1 *SSP* = *Словеса святых пророк* [*Discourses of the Holy Prophets*]. This collection, also known under the title *Пророчество Соломона* [*Prophecy of Solomon*] (cf. Istrin 1903), has come to us in various redactions, widely differing among each

[sic!] ѿ написано въ переде · ѿ сѣ черезъ ꙗко ахстоѡ за слово ѡбретена главы прѣтчи ѿ зѡнее доки. Indeed, 17 ff. later, on f. 518, after a sermon on the *Inventio capitis* of St. John the Baptist, we find a brief (evidently secondary) version of *StorCal-Tolk1*, entitled *Толкованіе стго Кнрнла философа оучителя словескаго ѡ коубеѡ Соломоновѡ достатѡне выложено*. The first nine lines of the full text are summarized as follows: *Еже премѣрыи Соломѡ содѣла ѡмною предмененю чашю воспоменути оу слове стго Кнрнла философа словескаго · была же таа чаша с каменн самфнра · разѡ же сице ѿ ѡ чашн сен каменнѡн*. The story concludes with the mention, unknown from the other versions of *StorCal*, that ‘Solomon always kept with him at table this chalice, which prophesied of Christ through cryptography’ (*оню чашу зѡжы Соломѡ держа при собѣ на столѣ · прѣркова таннописаніе ѡ хѡ*).

<sup>15</sup> Picchio lists 21 witnesses of *StorCal-Tolk2*, but attempts neither to analyse the collections (or, as he says, “compilations of various kinds,” 1985:141) in which *StorCal-Tolk2* occurs, nor to correlate their various structures with the various forms of *StorCal-Tolk2*. – The list of witnesses of *StorCal-Tolk2* which, as Picchio himself recognizes, “is not fully reliable” (1985:140, note 20), can be improved in many instances: (a) the signature of the *Troickij Stichirar*’ (Nr. 2) is GBL, F.304 (TSL) 408 (1345); it is true that “Petrov’s reference to this “MS is very vague,” but the description of Ilarij-Arsenij (1878:135) gives an idea of the type of *StorCal* contained in it (= *StorCal-TMO*, cf. note 16 below); (b) the MSS Nr. 8, 19, 21 should be eliminated because they contain excerpts from *VC*; Picchio has not recognized this and treated Nr. 8 (Nov.-Sof. 1449) as a witness to *StorCal-Tolk2*, which seriously biases his unique observation on the relationship of *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-Tolk* (for other cases of *StorCal-VC* outside of *VC*, cf. note 13 above); (c) the signature of Nr. 17 is not Und. 1558, but Und. 719; 1558 is the date of the ms, one of the two witnesses of *PChrP* (the other being Rum. 453 of 1494), noted already by Bodjanskij (1855:92); (d) the motive of Vladimir occurs not only in Nr. 12, but also in the mss Nr. 5, 7, 9, 14, 16, 17, i.e. direct or indirect witnesses of the *Paleja chronograficheskaia*. – MSS to be added to the list are: (1-2) GPB, Kir.-Bel. 68/1145 and GIM, Sin. 210, cf. Istrin 1906:35 (note), 61 (note); (3) Krexovskaja Paleja (Franko 1896:294); (4-5) GPB, Pog. 1293, 1433 (Ivanova 1981:475, 482); (6) GPB, F.I.376, cf. note 20 below). Other witnesses to *PChrP* and *PChrK* than that given by Picchio (Nr. 9) should be added as well, but only after verification (e.g. in Rum. 453, *StorCal* is lacking owing to the loss of ff. 450-451, cf. Bodjanskij 1853:110).

<sup>16</sup> The paucity of data does not permit in all cases to define unambiguously the context into which *StorCal-Tolk2* was inserted. – To type (a) seem to belong also the following MSS: (1) Moskva, GBL, F.304 (TSL) 122 (15th c.), where *StorCal-Tolk2* forms part of a dossier entitled *Словеса избранныя отъ многыхъ кннхъ разлчныхъ строкъ* (ff. 147-154); (2) Moskva, GBL, F.304 (TSL) 408 (15th c.), where *StorCal-Tolk2* is embedded in a section entitled *Вспросъ и отвѣтъ всакомю хрстнианному съ жидовномъ* (ff. 487-504). – To type (b), more precisely to the type *PChrP*, seems to belong also the ms St.-Peterburg, GPB, Pog. 1293 (17th c.), unless it contains an excerpt from *VC*, as Ivanova (1981: 476) believes.

other,<sup>17</sup> one of which (A = Leningrad, BAN 13.3.21 (Jac. 22), 15th c. [1462]) has been edited by Evseev (1097: 172-195).<sup>18</sup> – In the history of this collection, according to Evseev (1907:162, 165), we must basically distinguish an early, purely exegetic, state from a more recent state, enriched with chronographic elements.

**2a** *TMO* = *Толкования от мног отец* [*Interpretations from Many Fathers*]. This is the title of the collection, attested in the unique MS St.-Peterburg, GPB Q.p.I.18, 13th c. (Novgorod, 1200-1230), edited by Wątróbska (1987). – *TMO* is a compilation made on the basis of a preceding compilation.<sup>19</sup>

*LavrSb* = *Лаврентевият сборник* [*Lawrence's Miscellany*]. This miscellany, attested in a Middle-Bulgarian MS,<sup>20</sup> is also known as the *Иван–Александровият сборник* [*Ivan Alexander's Miscellany*].<sup>21</sup> This collection, too, is a compilation from textual materials of various provenance.

*MelSb*<sup>22</sup> = *Мелецкий сборник* [*Mel'cy Miscellany*]: Kiev, CBAN, Mel. 119, 16th c. (1596). This collection is made up of 6 distinct parts (cf. Veder 1982, 1990). – *Tolk2* forms part of the fourth section, determined by Veder as “a collection of exegetic, erotapocritic and catechetic texts” (1990: 603), most certainly composed on the basis of textual materials derived from other collections.

<sup>17</sup> The witnesses of *SSP* known to Evseev are eight: (1) Leningrad, BAN 13.3.21 (Jac. 22), 15th c. (1462), (2) Leningrad, GPB Kir.-Bel. 67/1144, 16th c.; (3) Warszawa, Bibl. Krasinskich N. 408, 17th c.; (4) Kostroma, GAKO (signature unknown) 17th c.; (5) Kiev, GPB USSR Zlatoverch. Michail. mon. N. 493/1655, 15th c.; (6) Moskva, CGADA 478/953, 16th c.; (7) GBL, Sobr. Undolskogo 12, 17th c., (8) Moskva, GIM, Sobr. Sokolova, 17th c. – Picchio lists only the first six, as the last two “do not contain the story of Solomon’s Chalice” (1985:140, note 21). Actually, *StorCal-Tolk1* is apparently lacking in the MSS (3) and (4), but not in the MS (7). — It should also be observed that Nr. 10 (Viln. 80) of the list of witnesses to *StorCal-Tolk2* (Picchio 1985:141) is in reality an excerpt from *StorCal-Tolk1* (cf. note 14 above).

<sup>18</sup> To Evseev (1900) we also owe a detailed analysis of another redaction of *SSP* (U = Moskva, GBL, Sobr. Undolskogo 12, 17th c.).

<sup>19</sup> This is what recent studies of *TMO* (Veder 1982, 1990; Wątróbska 1987) have yielded, cf. e.g. Veder (1990: 602) “*TMO* was compiled by a single scribe on the basis of a Slavic compilation of exegetical texts”.

<sup>20</sup> St.-Peterburg, GPB, F.I.376, of the year 1348, copied by the monk Lavrentij. – A Russian MS of the same collection is also known: Moskva, GIM, Sobr.Barsova 1948, 17th c. According to Il’inskij, both MSS “go back to a common original, though, possibly, not directly”; Kuev (1981: 29) tends to believe that the Russian MS was copied directly from the Bulgarian MS. The question merits a separate investigation. – It should be noted that the Barsov MS lacks the final sections of the GPB MS (among which the one containing *StorCal-Tolk2*).

<sup>21</sup> This is the designation preferred by its editor, K. Kuev (1981), who interprets the reference to Ivan Aleksandr in the colophon of the MS (f.214) in the sense that it was commissioned by the tsar of Bulgaria himself. According to Trifonov (1935), the MS was neither destined for Ivan Aleksandr, nor for his family.

<sup>22</sup> The other two witnesses of *MelSb* are L’vov, LBAN, ASP 134, 17th c. and Moskva, GIM, Sobr. Uvarova 157, 17th c., both copied “on the basis of the Meleckij Sbornik” (Veder 1990: 603). But in both MSS, to judge by Veder (1982:159), *StorCal-Tolk2* is lacking.



- 2b** *PChrP* and *PChrK* = *Палея Хронографическая полная* and *Палея Хронографическая краткая* [collections which combine in various ways a *Paleja* with a *Chronograph*].<sup>23</sup> *StorCal-Tolk2*, in *PChrP*, forms part of a supplement to the base collection, the so-called *Прибавление к Палее* [*Addition to the Paleja*] (henceforth: *PribPal*), while, in *PChrK*, it is integrated into the section devoted to Solomon in the *Paleja* proper. – Both *Palejas* and the *Pribavlenie* represent compilations from Slavic textual materials (for the better part, in turn, translated from Greek).<sup>24</sup>

#### 4. The Differences between *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2*

The differences between *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2* are not few. They affect the narrative opening, which forms the occasion for the story, as well as the doctrinal elements of the exegesis and the embedding into the collections.

<i>StorCal-VC</i>	<i>StorCal-Tolk2</i>			<i>StorCal-Tolk1</i>	<i>StorCal-ES</i>
VC	<i>TMO</i> MelSb LavrSb	<i>PChrK</i>	<i>PChrP</i>	<i>SSP</i>	<i>ES</i>
[Narr]	[Narr <sup>2</sup> ]	[Narr <sup>2</sup> ] [Vlad]	[Narr <sup>2</sup> ]	[Narr <sup>1</sup> ]	[Tit]
[Ia,b]	[Ia,b]	[Ia,b]	[Ia,b]	[Ia,b] [Tolk <sup>1</sup> I]	[Ia,b]
[IIa,b]	[IIa,b]	[IIa,b]	[IIa,b]	[IIa,b] [Tolk <sup>1</sup> II]	[IIb]
[IIIa,b]	[IIIa,b]	[IIIa,b]	[IIIa,b]	[IIIa,b] [Tolk <sup>1</sup> III]	
[IV]	[IV] [Tolk <sup>2</sup> I-III]	[IV] [Tolk <sup>2</sup> I-III]	[IV] [Tolk <sup>2</sup> I-III]	[IV]	
[Razč]	[Razč]	[Razč]	[Razč] [Vlad]	[Razč]	

Fig. 1: Comparative Analysis of the Four Known Forms of *StorCal*

##### α. The Narrative Frame

The narrative frame of *StorCal-Tolk2* [Narr<sup>2</sup>] is built, like that of *StorCal-VC*, on the motif of the ‘Solomonic’ chalice preserved in the treasure of St. Sophia.

<sup>23</sup> As to *PChrP* cf. the lithographic edition of the first half of Sin.210 (*Tolkovaja Paleja* 1892); of *PChrK*, only brief excerpts are known (among which also the Story of the Chalice, cf. Porfir’ev 1877:240). Cf. for a bibliography and a list of MSS Tvorogov (1989). – The unedited *Pribavlenie* merits an in-depth study.

<sup>24</sup> Not all, however, is translated from Greek; *PribPal*, for instance, contains among other things an excerpt from *VC* and the *Skazanie o gramote russkoj*, which is certainly (at least, in part) an original Old Russian opusculum.

It presents itself in two different forms:

**a** That of the exegetic-polemic collections (*TMO*, *MelSb*, *LavrSb*),<sup>25</sup> in which no mention is made of Constantine,<sup>26</sup> refers to many precious stones (without, however, naming them) and puts a mysterious *кѣльѧ*,<sup>27</sup> in the place of the *пѣтрѣ*:

Въ сѣѣ Софѣи ѣсть кѣльѧ Соломона · отъ каменѣа драгаго дѣлаа · на немже соуть написани стѣси трыѣ · ѣврейскыи и самарѣнскыи писмены (*Wątróbska* 1987: 4).<sup>28</sup>

**b1** That of *PChrK*, in which no mention is made of the *пѣтрѣ* (thus, it remains unclear what bears the inscription, cf. note 29), refers to ‘a philosopher’, who had ‘come to Russia to instruct the grand prince Vladimir’, and to a single precious stone:

[*Narr*<sup>2</sup>] Суть велѣка (чаша) дѣла Соломона ·<sup>29</sup> ѿ каменѣа драгаго содѣлаа · въ немже суть и написаны три стѣси · еврейскими и самарѣнскими писмены.

[*Vlad*] (after [*Narr*<sup>2</sup>]) нѣже не можетъ [*var.* можаше *Pog.* 1560] никтоже столковати рѣзѣѣ единаго философа · нже бѣ приходаша оучити велѣкаго кнѣзя Владимѣра (*Porfir'ev* 1877: 240).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> It is interesting to note how this type of [*Narr*<sup>2</sup>] tends to be transformed into a title. In *TMO* and *MelSb*, the transformation of [*Narr*<sup>2</sup>] into a title is a fact (the entire text of [*Narr*<sup>2</sup>] is written in cinnabar, used in both MSS for the titles). To judge by Kuev's edition, this transformation did not take place in *LavrSb*.

<sup>26</sup> If the information in *VC* 13 is not a hagiographic *topos*, Constantine could be thought to have been involved with the inscription of Solomon's chalice during the time he spent in the patriarchal library (*VC* 4:15) as chartophylax (as *Dvorník* 1933: 49-67 interprets the *вѣнаноутикарѣ* of the majority of the MSS) or as *skeuophylax* ‘keeper of the vessels’, following the reading (*сѣсѣдохранѣнѣи*) of that hyparchetype (cf. *Capaldo* 1991) from which descended the three ‘Western Russian’ witnesses of *VC*: *Vat.* sl. 12, *Pog.* 957 and *Viln.* 80.

<sup>27</sup> The form *кѣльѧ* is suspect, but it cannot be explained on the basis of *пѣтрѣ* in *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-Tolk1*, a reading corroborated by *ποτήριον* in *StorCal-ES*. The hypothesis that *кѣльѧ* is a corruption of *κύλιξ* (“is the word *κύλιξ* ... behind the surprising expression *кѣльѧ*?” *Ševčenko* 1967: 1816, n. 49), is certainly attractive; the difficulty is, that the supposed \**кѣлиѣ* would be a hapax. – Note also the variants *стѣхъ* for *гранѣ* in *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-Tolk1*.

<sup>28</sup> Translation of [*Narr*<sup>2</sup>] according to *TMO*: ‘In Saint Sophia, there is a cell [corrupted from chalice?] of Solomon, made of precious stones [*каменѣиѣ* is collective], on which are written three verses in Hebrew and Samaritan characters.’ – The texts of *MelSb* and *LavrSb* are identical.

<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, *Porfir'ev*'s edition does not allow to form a precise idea of the incipit: *чаша* (in parentheses) seems to be the editor's gloss, perhaps taken from the title (*Надписъ на чашѣи Соломона*), it is by no means certain whether it is in the MS, or perhaps from line [I] of the inscription. – It is highly probable that the incipit of *Porfir'ev*'s version is defective: two other witnesses of this type of [*Narr*<sup>2</sup>] suggest the following telescoping: <Во св · градѣ іерусалимѣ церквѣи свѣтѣи свѣтѣхъ> суть велѣка дѣла Соломона (*Leningrad, GPB Pog.* 1558 e 1560, cf. *Petrov* 1894: 10, 11).

<sup>30</sup> Translation of [*Narr*<sup>2</sup>]-[*Vlad*] according to *PChrK*: ‘[*Narr*<sup>2</sup>] <In Jerusalem, the Sancta Sanctorum> there is a great work of Solomon, made of precious stone, on which are inscribed three verses in Hebrew and Samaritan characters, [*Vlad*] which no one could interpret, save a phi-

**b2** That of PChrP, in which, contrary to *PChrK*, mention is made of many precious stones (this time, listed and named) and of the *пѡтѣрь*, retains, like *PChrK*, the motif of the Russian mission of its interpreter ('the philosopher Constantine, named Cyril'), but puts it at the end of the story (cf. [Vlad] in Fig. 1):

[Narr<sup>2</sup>] *Есть въ Цр҃ьградѣ въ сѣѣхъ Софїи потѣрь Соломона дѣла · есть кованъ на трѣхъ гранѣхъ драгѣхъ каменїи · нже нарицаѣ сѧ пръвыи Аханъ · вторыи нзмарагдъ · ꙗко самфѣръ · ꙗко карвамакѣ · ꙗко лѣхнѣ · ꙗко амфракъ · и нїи мнози свѣтїи каменїи · Соуть же и стѣхъ трїе написани · ꙗко на первонъ гранѣ самарѣнскїи · ꙗко на второнъ гранѣ євѣнскїи · ꙗко на третїи гранѣ грѣскїи.*

[Vlad] (after [Razč]) *Сѣхъ же стѣховъ нѣктоже не могъ прѣтѣковати · но прѣтѣкова токмо · нже прѣходѣ въ Роуѣ философъ Константинъ · нарицаемы Кѣрѣлъ* (Franko 1896: 294).<sup>31</sup>

In contrast to *StorCal-Tolk2*, *StorCal-Tolk1* connects the chalice (and the inscription) with the construction of the temple at the behest of Solomon (1 Kg 5: 5f., Prov 9:1-2, etc.)<sup>32</sup> and, more in particular, to the identification of Solomon's temple with the "tent of the desert" (Wis 9:8)<sup>33</sup> – the "Holy of Holies" (*Sancta Sanctorum*) of Ex 26:33 and Hebr 9:3<sup>34</sup> – interpreted, in turn, as sym-

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losopher who had come to instruct the grand prince Vladimir.'

<sup>31</sup> Translation of [Narr<sup>2</sup>]-[Vlad] according to *PChrP*: '[Narr<sup>2</sup>] In Saint Sophia in Constantinople, there is a chalice of Solomon's work. It is wrought in three faces of precious stones, of which the first is called agate (from ἀγάτης), the second emerald, the third sapphire, the fourth carbuncle, the fifth lichenite, the sixth anthrax (ἀνθραξ), and many other splendid stones. There are also three verses written, the first on the first face in Samaritan, the second on the second face in Hebrew, the third on the third face in Greek (...) [Vlad] These verses could not be interpreted by any one, but they were interpreted only by the philosopher Constantine, named Cyril, who came to Rus.' – NB. *Аханъ*, not listed in any dictionary known to me, should certainly be corrected to *ахатъ*, (cf. Srezn. *Mater.* s.v., but without precise indication of the source; the form *ахатъ* occurs in Izb. 1073 g., Ostr. Bibl.). The list of precious stones of this version seems to be derived from Ex 28:19 (on which depend Ez 28:13 and Rev 21:19f.).

<sup>32</sup> '[Solomon:] I purpose to build a house for the name of the Lord' (1 Kg 5:5); 'Wisdom has built her house (...) she has mixed her wine' (Prov 9:1-2). – It is difficult to say which of these verses is at the origin proper of [Narr<sup>1</sup>]; an explicit allusion to Prov 9:2-4 is made in the commentary to line [I]: *и чѣрѣа въ чашѣ своѣи вино* (Evseev 1907:172,20); however, the allusion to a 'tent' in the commentary (*Ѹстрои цр҃ковъ · и нариче ю сѣѣа сѣѣ*) would seem to speak in favor of Wisd 9:8.

<sup>33</sup> 'Thou hast given command to build a temple on thy holy mountain (...) a copy of the holy tent' (Wisd 9:8)

<sup>34</sup> '[God to Moses:] You shall erect the tabernacle according to the plan for it which has been shown you on the mountain (...) and the veil shall separate for you the holy place from the "Holy of Holies" [τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων]' (Ex 26: 30-33), cf. also Num 4:19 [τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων]; 'Behind the second curtain stood a tent called the "Holy of Holies" [ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων]' (Hebr 9: 3). – It cannot be determined whether [Narr<sup>1</sup>] directly reflects the Pauline passage quoted; in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ἅγια 'sancta' is certainly to be understood as neuter plural, precisely (τὰ ἅγια and not (ἡ) ἁγία (cf. the bibliography and discussion in Casalini 1989: 50ff.), but in

bol of the Virgin and the Trinity:

[Narr<sup>1</sup>] СОЛОМОНЪ ВЕЛНКОУ ПРИМРСТЬ ѿ БГА ПРИА А ПРОВѢДЫН ДХОМЬ · ІАКО СНИТН ГОУ НА ЗЕМЛЮ · Н РОДНТН ѿ ДВЫ · ѠБРАЗЪ СХОДА ЕГО ІАВЛАІА · ЪСТРОН ЦРКОВЬ ПО ПОВѢЛЕНІЮ БЖІЮ · Н НАРЕЧЕ Ю СЪАІА СЪІ · СЪІЮ НАРНЧЕТЬ ДВЪ БЦЮ · А ЕЖЕ СЪІХЪ ТРНЛННО БЖТВО · НЪЗІАВН СЪІА ТРЦА · ІАКО ХОЩЕТЬ БГЪ ВСЕЛНТН Н ПОЖНТН В НЕИ · ѠЧННН ЖЕ Н ПОТЫРЬ НА СЛЪЖБЪ БГОУ ПРОІАВЛАІА РЖТВО ЕГО · ІАКО ѿ ДВЫ РОДНТН ЕМОУ · БАШЕ ЖЕ ЧАША ТА ТРНЧАСТНО СОТВОРЕНА · НА ТРН ГРАНН · ПО ТРОНЧЕСКОМЪ ѠБРАЗУ (Evseev 1907: 172, 5-11).<sup>35</sup>

### β. The Commentary

The common basis of the commentary of *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2* consists of the interpretation in a christological vein of the separate images evoked in the inscription: thus, the ‘star’ is that which guides the magi, the ‘drink’ (pivo) is that of the last supper, the ‘first- born’ is Christ, and so forth.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the long version has some trinitarian associations (cf. e.g. the final part of [Narr<sup>1</sup>]) and frequent references to the Hebrews (envisaged as interlocutors by the author),<sup>37</sup> but above all – in [Narr<sup>1</sup>] and the commentary to line [I] (cf. points b1 and b3) – an important mariological component:<sup>38</sup>

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antiquity already the term ‘Sancta Sanctorum’ was understood, in its first part, as feminine singular, and was interpreted sybolically to refer to the Kingdom of Heaven, to the Church, to the Virgin etc. As concerns the interpretation of Sancta as ‘Virgin’, cf. e.g. a passage of the homily Δεῦτε, πάντα ἔθνη, πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων (BHG<sup>3</sup> 1087) of John Damascene (PG 96: 677): ‘O Virgin full of grace, holy temple of God [ναὸς θεοῦ ἅγιος, Old Slavic translation . ЦЕРКВН БЖІА СВАТАІА VMČ Sept 8, col. 420], which the spiritual Solomon built.’

<sup>35</sup> Translation of [Narr<sup>1</sup>]: ‘Solomon received great wisdom from God. Forseeing in his spirit that God was to descend to earth and to be born from a Virgin, making manifest the form of His descent, he built a temple at God’s behest and named it “Holy of Holies”: by “Holy” he indicates the Virgin Mother of God, and by “Holies” he makes manifest the threefold godhead of the Holy Trinity, as God would install Himself [ΒΥΣΕΛΗΤΗ СА = σκηνοῦν ‘inhabitare’? Cf. Jn 1: 14 ἐσκήνωσε ἐν ἡμῖν ΒΥΣΕΛΗ СА ВЪ МЫ] and live in Her. He also made a chalice for the service of God manifesting His birth, that He was to be born from a Virgin. The chalice was made of three parts, with three faces, in the image of the Trinity.’

<sup>36</sup> The comparison of the two commentaries to line [I] reveals that in one case the agreement is literal (cf. c3), while in another it varies greatly in wording, even if the exegesis is equal (cf. c1). The rest of the commentary presents the same picture.

<sup>37</sup> The passages in question, soberly polemical, are the following: three in [I] (one of which at the beginning, one in the middle, and one at the end), two in [III] (at the beginning and at the end: ΡΑΖΩΜΕΝ ΗΝΟΒΕΡΖΗ · ΚΑ ΤΗ ΗΖΖΙΑВН СОЛОМѠ Ѡ ΧЪ ‘Understand, o heterodox, how Solomon has manifestly spoken to you of Christ!’), and one at the end of [IV].

<sup>38</sup> For a detailed analysis of the two commentaries cf. my article cited in note 158.

## The commentary to line [I] of the inscription

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>StorCal-Tolk1</p> <p>a Послоушан жндовнне пррѣчтва н премѣдростн Соломона .</p> <p>b1 чашю содела в каменн самфнра . на немже первын зако-<br/>нз Монствен вписа бгз . в том же каменн Соломонз ча-<br/>шю ѿ бга оумоудрнв сѧ ѡчннн . провѣдын дхѡмз . іако<br/>второмоу законоу быти а вашемоу ѿверѣнѣ . тогда бо<br/>скрнжалъ образъ бы двыѧ . на немже бгз своимз перстоу<br/>вписа . здѣ же чашею назнамена двѡу .</p> <p>b2 камен же Хсз . вно же в нем бжственаѧ кровь его . ѣ ѣ но-<br/>вын заветъ . (...) н вз том чашн прнхѡ дхѡвное пнтне . бж<br/>ественныѧ его крове .</p> <p>b3 Ѡ тонже чашн дѣз еще гла . чашю спннѧ прннмоу н-<br/>ма гнѣ прнзовоу . Ѥаша спсѣнаѧ дѣа чѣаѧ . вѣроующнн<br/>в неѧ спсѣт сѧ нменѣ гннмз . Велнт же Соломонз чашю<br/>прорнцати . ѿ дха бжнѧ провѣдын . іако бца пррѣца на-<br/>рѣтъ . рѣ бо се бо ѡселе блжати ма всн родн .</p> <p>c1 а еже пнше . дондѣже звѣзда вз пнво боудеть гвн . прѣ-<br/>зрѣ ѡноу . прнведшою взалхвы з дары .</p> <p>c2 вы не вѣрзствовавшѧ жндове . еже ѣ пнво .</p> <p>c3 первенцѡ бздашю ношню . первенець Хс . бдѣ бо в тоу<br/>ношз . в нѡ вечерѧ со оученнкы . И преданз бы<sup>39</sup></p> | <p>StorCal-Tolk2</p> <p>Ѥаша ієсть пррѣчство<br/>н моудрость Соломо-<br/>на .</p> <p>а звѣзда прорнцаетъ<br/>ржтво Хво вз пнво<br/>боудеть гвн .</p> <p>първеньцю бздашю<br/>ношню . Т Първеньць<br/>ієсть Хсз . бздаѣ бо вз<br/>тоу ношъ вз нюже ве-<br/>черѧ н пн . н преданз<br/>бы<sup>40</sup></p> |
|--|---|

<sup>39</sup> Evseev 1907:172,12-173,7. Translation: '(a) Listen, o Hebrew, to the prophecy and wisdom of Solomon. (b1) He made a chalice of sapphire stone; in the same stone, on which God inscribed the first Law for Moses, he made the Chalice, having received the (necessary) wisdom from God (and) foreseeing in his spirit that a new law would come into being and yours was to be abandoned. For then the table (of the Law) became the symbol of the Virgin; upon it did God write with His own finger (and) here by the Chalice did He indicate the Virgin. (b2) The stone is Christ; the wine in it (= the Chalice) is His divine blood, which is the New Testament (...), and in this Chalice did we receive the spiritual drink of His divine blood. (b3) Of this same Chalice even David said, "I will lift up the cup of salvation and call on the name of the Lord" (Ps 115:4). The Chalice of salvation (is) the pure Virgin; those who believe in Her shall be saved through the name of the Lord. So Solomon commands the Chalice to prophesy, foreseeing through God's spirit that the Mother of God would be called a prophetess, for she said, "Behold, henceforth all generations will call me blessed" (Lk 1:48). (c1) Now as is written "Until the star shall be for drink to the Lord" [or rather: the content of the Chalice shall be for drink to

### γ. The Integration into The Host Collections

*StorCal-Tolk1* is inserted into a homogeneous series of comparable textual elements (i.e. Old Testament christological prophecies); it forms part – as second of the group<sup>41</sup> – of the seven Solomonic prophecies that open *SSP*. It should be noted that the different prophecies are only weakly linked logically and syntactically by the mere use of particles like же, пакы.<sup>42</sup> To give an idea of the situation, here are the *incipit* and *desinit* of the first three prophecies:

- (1) 171,5 – 172,4 *Inc.* СОЛОМОНЪ ПРРОЧЬСТВОВА Н ЪСТЫ ЕГО СЊНЪ БЖИИ ПРОРЕЧЕ · НЖЕ БЪ ПРЕВЪЧЕНЪ СЪ ѠЦЕМЪ · СВОЕ РОЖЕСТВО Ѡ СВОЕГО ѠЦА НСХѠНО ПРОПОВЕДАТА РѠ · ПРЕЖЕ ВЪКЪ ѠСНОВА МА [Prov. 8: 23] – *des.* ПОСЛАШАН ЖИДОВИНЕ ПРОРОЧЕСТВА СОЛОМОНА ПРЕМОУДРАГО.<sup>43</sup>
- (2) 172,5 – 174,3 *Inc.* СОЛОМОНЪ ВЕАНКОУ ПРИРСТЪ ПРИНА [Apocryphal prophecy: the inscription on the Chalice] – *des.* ЗНАН ЖИДОВИНЕ ІАКО ПО ТѢ ЛѢТѢ РОДНЪ ХС Н РАСПА Ѡ ВѢ · Н ВЪСКРѢ ТРЕН ДНЬ · ІАКО СЧѢШЕ ѠБРЕТОХѠ ИСТИННО.<sup>44</sup>
- (3) 174,4 – 174,11 *Inc.* ПАКЫ СОЛОМѠ Ѡ ХѢ ПИШѢ ВЪ ПЪСНѢ · ПЛОНОЕ РѠСТВО Ѡ ПОВЪДАТА · БРАТ МОИ ДОБРЪ Н КРАСѢ Н ѠДРЪ ЕГО ѠСѢНѢ [Cant. 1:16]; БРАТѠ НАРѢ СОЛОМѠ ХѢ · ІАКО Ѡ ПЛЕМЕНЕ Ѡ РОДН СѢ – *des.* А ВЫ ЖИДОВЕ (...) ПОКОТА НЕ ѠБРЕ-ТАЕТЕ НА ЧѢ ПОЧИТИ.<sup>45</sup>

the Lord, after which the star shall rise], he foresaw that which would guide the magi with (their) gifts. (c2) You Jews have not believed what the drink is. (c3) “To the first(-born) who wakes at night.” The first(-born is) Christ, for He waked in that night, in which he supped with (His) disciples and was betrayed.’

<sup>40</sup> Wątróbska 1987: 4. Translation: “‘The chalice’ is the prophecy and the wisdom of Solomon. ‘The star’ prophesies the birth of Christ. ‘It shall be for drink to the Lord, the First(-born) who wakes at night.’ E(xplanation): The ‘First(-born)’ is Christ, for He waked in the night in which He supped, and drank, and was betrayed.’

<sup>41</sup> Where exactly *StorCal-Tolk1* begins and ends can be determined differently: according to Evseev, it begins at 172,7 (ѠСТРОН) and ends at 173,28 (ПРИНАСТЕ); in my view, it begins at 172,5 (СОЛОМОНЪ) and ends at 174,3 (ИСТИННО).

<sup>42</sup> This is the general pattern in the rest of the collection as well; simple juxtaposition of successive prophecies (as within *StorCal-Tolk1*) is less common

<sup>43</sup> ‘Solomon prophesied, and through his mouth was the Son of God proclaimed. He who is eternally with the Father, prophesying His own birth by procession from His own Father, said, “Ages ago I was set up” [Prov 8:23]. – Hear, o Jew, the prophecy of the wise Solomon.’

<sup>44</sup> ‘Solomon received great wisdom [Apocryphal prophecy: the inscription on the Chalice]. – Know, o Jew, that at the end of those years Christ was born and crucified by you, and rose on the third day, as we have found to be true by computation.’

<sup>45</sup> ‘Again Solomon writes of Christ in the Song (of Songs), proclaiming His birth in the flesh, “My brother, beautiful and lovely; and His couch is green” [SofS 1:16]. Solomon called Christ “brother”, because He was born from his lineage. – So you, Hebrews (...), do not find repose where to rest.’ – NB. For покои = ‘locus quietis’ cf. Gen. 8:9 οὐχ εὐροῦσα ἢ περιστερὰ ἀνά-παυσιν не обрѣте голубъ покои (Michajlov 1900: 49); Ps. 131: 8 ἀνάστηθι, κύριε, εἰς τὴν

Within the collections *TMO*, *MelSb* and *LavrSb*, *StorCal-Tolk2* is not present as an element of a larger structural context, recurring in all three collections. Only in two of them (*TMO*, *LavrSb*) is the story of the Chalice preceded by the apocryphal prophecy of Joash, son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel.<sup>46</sup>

Entirely different appears to be the situation of *PChrK*, where *StorCal-Tolk2* forms part of a homogeneous sequence of texts (the dossier of Solomon).<sup>47</sup> But, in this case, its inclusion in the collection is, evidently, of recent date, for, as I have stressed, *StorCal-Tolk2* is not included in the base collection, but in an appendix (the so-called *Прибавление к Палее*), embedded in a brief distinctive dossier of chronographic texts, partly revised and topicalized by a Russian editor.<sup>48</sup>

Notwithstanding all these differences, the commented versions of *StorCal* are clearly related to each other, just as they are related to *StorCal-VC*, for all three (*-VC*, *-Tolk1* and *-Tolk2*) present the inscription in the same linguistic apparel.

It remains now to define the genetic relationships of the three versions, but the discussion of this problem will have to be postponed to § 25-28 below.

### 5. Picchio's Claims as to The Relationship of *StorCal-VC* to The Other Versions of *StorCal* – Some of His Corollaries – Some Resulting Perplexities

An original claim as to the relationships between the various witnesses of *StorCal* was recently put forward by R. Picchio (1985). Its core, in my rendering, is the following: line [III] of the inscription, as read in the ca. 30 known MSS of

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ἀνάπαυσίν σου βοσκήσῃ ἡ ἐξ πόλεως τῆς (Ps. Sin.).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. 4 Kg 13:9. Incipit: ВЪ ЛѢТА И ВЪ ДНѢ ПРѢКА ИСАИА · И ѿвасъ ѿрѣзъ ѿрлєвъ сзнь вѣдѣ ('In the years and the days of the prophet Isaiah, Joash, king of Israel, had a dream.') Cf. Мошл'skij 1893:141-143. – The prophecy of Joash occurs in *MelSb* as well, but only some ten folia after *StorCal-Tolk2*.

<sup>47</sup> I must point out that my data on *PChrK* are not based directly on the MSS, but depend exclusively upon the (sometimes all too summary) descriptions in catalogues of MSS.

<sup>48</sup> The base collection is concluded by an entry of the death of Romanus (Hamart. 572,21). Then begins *PribPal*, which contains the following entries: (1) Inc. ВЪ ЛѢТО 6303, to be corrected to 6363 = 865 A.D.] КОНСТАНТИНЪ ФІЛОСОФЪ НАРІЦАЕМЫИ КІРІЛЪ СЪВОРІЛЪ ГРАМОТѢ (cf. Bodjanskij 1855:97f.); (2) Alphabetic prayer inc. АЗЪ СЛОВОМЪ СМЪ; (3) Inc. ПОТОМЪ ЖЕ МАЛОМЪ ЛѢТОМЪ МНІДѢШІМЪ; (4) excerpts from *VC* (ch. 5,6,9,10,16); (5) *Skazanie o ruskoj gramote* (cf. Živov 1990); (6) excerpts from the Chronicle of John Malalas (fragments of books 1-2, analyzed by Tvorogov 1975:127ff.); (7) *StorCal-Tolk2*; (8) *De LXXII prophetis et prophetissis* (Ps.-Epiphanius); (9) *Indices apostolorum et discipulorum Domini* (Hippolytus); (10) *Chronographia brevis*. – NB. It is by no means certain that this *Pribavlenie* forms one whole and should not rather be analyzed in two or three parts, representing as many successive strata, e.g. (1)-(5), (6), (7)-(10).

VC,<sup>49</sup> does not present the wording of the hagiographer (IXth c.), but that of the commented versions of *StorCal*.<sup>50</sup>

Picchio's formulations are always highly sophisticated and often excessively condensed, to the point that one may doubt whether one understands his ideas correctly.<sup>51</sup> Thus, within the very core of Picchio's theory, there is a point at which one gets the clear impression that Picchio considers *StorCal*-VC a late interpolation:

As far as the study of Chapter 13 is concerned, it is fair to say that there is no evidence which would allow to us to place any part of its textual history outside the East Slavic area. (...) It seems advisable to take into particular consideration the fact that the Solomon's Chalice Story belongs to an East Slavic tradition [immediately afterwards narrowed down to an "East Slavic apocryphal tradition"]<sup>52</sup> (1985: 142).

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<sup>49</sup> Of the other ca. 40 mss of VC, save the signatures, only some isolated readings are known (cf. Angelov-Kodov 1973). For information on the known witnesses of VC see the editions listed s.v. VC in the bibliography of sources at the end of this article.

<sup>50</sup> This reformulation of his thought will probably not satisfy Picchio, for he considers it naive to treat VC (of which the earliest complete witnesses do not go back farther than the 14–15th c.) *tout court* as the work of an hagiographer of the 9th c., allowing, at the very most, the separate parts of VC to be labeled "preserved textual material", which can be neither be localized nor dated precisely. – How to conceive of VC is by no means a trivial matter, but the question of the relevant terminology should not be dramatized. A cocktail of unknown mix can be labeled indifferently as a 'Rum-cocktail', 'Curaçao-cocktail' etc.. Yet such an approach cannot pretend to put an individual and exclusive label to VC (of which the mix is unknown as well). For years, Picchio has been proposing a formula – VC as a collection, neither datable nor localizeable, of preserved textual material, neither datable nor localizeable – that echoes the glories of the *χορίζοντες* of Homeric philology: "In the case of VC (...) some textual material belonging to the original text of a work may have been handed down as part of changing contexts (...) The mere presence of this preserved textual material would not allow us to accept unconditionally as *textus traditus* the contextual unit which contains this very material" (1985:152). My aim is not to question the theoretic plausibility of the label, but to discuss the more important (or, rather, the unique) proof adduced by Picchio in support of his label.

<sup>51</sup> For claims by Picchio which would require a more ample demonstration and, more generally, for points which seem to lack the necessary depth, cf. notes 52–55, 91–93, 107, 159, 185 etc. below. – NB. I have to disagree with Picchio on various points and therefore have to take great care not to misrepresent him in my analyses. Hence, even in minute details, I quote his formulations at length and cautiously explicit the passages which he passes over in his exposition, but which are essential to provide an articulate idea of the problems under discussion other than his own theses.

<sup>52</sup> In the latter clause, the verb "belongs" raises serious questions. Likewise, the formula "East Slavic tradition" (devoid of the necessary specification: of what?) makes it difficult for the reader to understand whether it refers to the MS tradition of VC, or to the MS tradition of the texts in which *StorCal* is transmitted, or to the entire East Slavic textual heritage. – That the formula "East Slavic tradition" is used in opposition to "South Slavic area" is clear from an-



This passage, indeed, seems to leave no room for an interpretation other than in the sense of interpolation (*StorCal* would have entered *VC* in the East Slavic area).<sup>53</sup>

Elsewhere, Picchio presents the aspect of line [III] of the inscription not as the result of a late interpolation (i.e. from *StorCal* into *VC*), but as a contamination that affected only this point of the inscription:

The case of *VC* 13 suggests that a work [*VC*?] may have gotten back from other contextual traditions [*SSP* etc.?] some adapted portion [III?] of its own textual material<sup>54</sup> [*StorCal*?] (1985: 152).

This passage must be understood to mean that (a) *StorCal* was part of *VC* from the beginning, but from a certain point onward passed to “other contextual traditions,” i.e. to *SSP* etc., and (b) afterward was returned – but “adapted,” i.e. with alterations (= the corruption of line [III]) – from there to *VC*.

This idea of contamination, which seems to be Picchio's true point of view,<sup>55</sup> forms the basis of some highly original and sophisticated corollaries. In

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other statement in the same context: “For the time being, it seems wise to refrain from accepting unconditionally the thesis that a complete text of *VC*, including the text of Chapter 13 as it has come down to us, circulated in the South Slavic area” (1985:142). Picchio does not deny an old South Slavic tradition of *VC*, while denying that the few South Slavic MSS that have come down to us represent its direct continuation; again a clearly interpolationistic point of view.

<sup>53</sup> This is precisely how Goldblatt (1986) seems to have interpreted Picchio's idea; cf. note 151 below.

<sup>54</sup> The expression “*VC*'s own textual material” here seems to indicate the textual material which *VC* acquired not from the outside, i.e. which formed part of *VC* from the very beginning. – Certainly, Picchio's terminology is refined (even if not completely transparent, cf. “own textual material”, “any part of textual history of Chapter 13”), and his conceptual apparatus is subtle (cf. his insistence, when treating texts like *VC*, on the greater scientific objectivity of the notion “textual material” above “author”), but, all things considered, everything seems to come down to the use of anti-unitary labels in approaching the traditional (i.e. unitary) substance. One example may suffice: When expressing, in traditional unitary language, the idea that *StorCal* conveys a symbolic message, one would say: ‘The author of *VC* inserted *StorCal* into his narrative in order to convey a certain symbolic message.’ Yet Picchio formulates the same idea as follows: “It seems evident that Solomon's Chalice Story was inserted into the narrative plot of *VC* to convey a symbolic message” (1985:148). In this way (with a passive clause lacking an agent) Picchio avoids compromising his anti-unitary assumptions and attributing *VC* to a definite author, while at the same time, in substance, treating *VC* as an old text which is more or less organic (and, as such, the work of an author): in fact, notwithstanding the definition of *StorCal-VC* as “insertion”, it is considered the work of him who was responsible for the “own textual tradition” of *VC* (cf. Picchio's statement, commented in note 52 above) and, therefore, is in fact attributed to the author (or compiler, or responsible for the “own textual tradition”, or what else one would wish to call him) of *VC*.

<sup>55</sup> One might suppose that the ‘interpolationist’ statements of Picchio 1985 are in reality only meant to emphasize the fact that the known witnesses of *StorCal* are exclusively East Slavic (or depend on such); one might further imagine that this emphasis was exaggerated, result-

order to make clear from the very start the full extent of the argument, I shall briefly survey these corollaries, noting in addition some of the perplexities that triggered the present discussion:

**a1** In line [III] of the inscription, Picchio conjecturally restores two Biblical quotations, insisting that he who was responsible for the compositional structure of VC introduced them there as ‘thematic clue’ to its second part (ch. 13–18). – The problem here is whether it is legitimate, in a text like this inscription, imbued through and through with Biblical expressions,<sup>56</sup> to force the step to assume the aspect of an outright ‘quotation’.

**a2** The text of VC 13 appears to be organized as an ‘isocolic sequence’, i.e. as a “specific type of Slavic rhythmico-syntactic structure... characterized by series of syntactic segments marked by an equal number of accents” (1984:10). – The problem here is that, in the rhythmico-syntactic organization of VC 13 postulated by Picchio, “syntactic” (‘rhetorical’) and “rhythmic” facts are not clearly distinguished and that, the latter, as presented by Picchio, lack an essential factor of rhythm: the number of mores between accents.<sup>57</sup>

**b1** The archetype of VC is contaminated, East Slavic and late (13–14th c.). – The claim of a contaminated archetype does not agree with Picchio’s customary prudence, which demands with great pathos<sup>58</sup> the complete *collatio* as a prerequisite to any statement on the archetype.<sup>59</sup> Likewise, the claim of an “East Slavic” and “late” archetype, based on the evidence of a dating and local-

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ing in the deformation of its original strategic aim, i.e. to make more plausible the hypothesis that line [III] was ‘apocryphized’ in the East Slavic area. However this may be, my impression is that these statements betray an unchecked interpolationist attitude towards VC 13 (cf. also notes 88 and 185 below).

<sup>56</sup> Cf. note 71 below. The metaphor of the cup of wine that enebriates (and leads to perdition) indicates, in the OT, a punishment by God for an act of disobedience. It seems indicative for the liberty with which the Biblical text has been used in the inscription, that the polarity of this traditional metaphor is reversed: cp. ‘enebriate with joy’ of [IIb] (ΟΥΤΙΗ СѦ ВЕСЕΛΗЕМЪ, in *Stor Cal-ES* μέθυσον τρυφῆς, cf. § 22 below) with ‘sate with wormwood’ (Lam 3:15, ἐμέθυσέ με χολῆς).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. note 136 at the end.

<sup>58</sup> As it seems, this pathos is due to Picchio’s deep-rooted conviction to be addressing colleagues inclined to “arbitrary reconstructions” rather than “documentary philology” (1988b: 314) and chronically weary of observing the “basic methodological concepts” of textual criticism. It is my impression that Picchio’s judgement of the textual criticism of Slavic medievalists is too severe. Also, the “principles of Orthodox Slavic textual criticism established by R. Picchio” (Goldblatt 1986:317), synthesized in Picchio 1985:135 and reproduced in note 81 below, are open to some reservations (cf. §§ 16–17 below).

<sup>59</sup> We know, however (cf. note 49 above), that more than half of the witnesses of VC remain to be studied. Maybe this is why Picchio does not consider the *restitutio* of VC 13 possible (cf. also § 10 below).

ization (Rus', 13th c.) of *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2* accepted without verification, is in stark contrast with Picchio's – repeatedly and emphatically professed – scepticism as to the current dating and localization of Church Slavonic texts (in all redactions).

**6. Other Important Questions Related to *StorCal* and not Dwelt upon in this Discussion. – What is to Be Demonstrated**

As can be seen, the exegesis of VC 13 is the focus of important problems of textual criticism and literary history. Other crucial questions raised by *StorCal-VC* – its relation to Judeo-Christian apocryphal literature,<sup>60</sup> its place among the Christian legends (the blood of Christ, the Grail),<sup>61</sup> etc. – are not treated by Picchio and will not be considered here.

On the following pages, after a brief survey of the problems raised by VC 13 and an evaluation of some traditional solutions (§§ 7-9), I shall explicit as well as I can the internal connections, presuppositions and implications of Picchio's claims (§§ 10-15). Considered absolutely reliable by some of his disciples (Goldblatt 1986, Ziffer 1989) and considered established fact by Picchio himself,<sup>62</sup> these have not as yet been the object of in-depth analysis. Most intriguing, of course, in Picchio's construction, is the singular case of postulated contamination. It is to the verification of Picchio's claims that the central part of this paper (§§ 16-32) is devoted.

Anticipating the conclusions (§ 33), I can say that there is nothing to warrant the restitution of two outright Biblical quotations in line [III], not to mention their attribution to the author of VC. This entails the elimination of the so-

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<sup>60</sup> In *StorCal-VC*, Solomon's chalice prefigures the cup of Christ's passion and, similarly, Solomon's construction of the Temple prefigures, according to the typological pattern of Judeo-Christian apocryphal literature, Christ's Church.

<sup>61</sup> It is easy to imagine how 'Solomon's chalice', at the outset a simple symbol of Christ's passion, achieved, in the 'Christian legend', an effective role in the culminating moment of Christ's earthly life: like the wood used in the construction of the Temple was thought to have served for the wood of the Cross, so Solomon's chalice was thought to have been used by Christ at the Last Supper. From this point of view, *StorCal* fits well both into the Solomonic vein of the legend of the wood of the Cross (cf. line [II] of the inscription and Veselovskij 1888:429) and into the legend of the blood of Christ (cf. Daškevič 1888:241 n.1). We shall see that line [III] of the inscription contains an echo of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which is known to have played in important part in the formation of the legend of the Grail (chalice, or paten, or altar stone or the like), the most successful medieval legend of the blood of Christ. Still, it must be stressed that, *StorCal-VC* (unlike the commented versions), contains no explicit references to the larger narrative contexts indicated here.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Picchio 1988a. Here, Picchio in fact only repeats the claim of isocolic scansion of *StorCal-VC* or, more precisely, within the limits of ch. 13. But the validity of this aspect of his theory, by the way it is argued, presupposes of necessity the validity of all the rest.

called ‘thematic clue’ to the second part of VC, which rests on the two ‘restored’ quotations in line [III]. It also entails the elimination of the hypothesis of VC as a diptych, which rests upon the ‘strength’ of the inexistent ‘thematic clue’.

Secondly, it appears impossible to give more credit to the “isocolic scan-sion” of VC 13 than to an altogether too suggestive construction by an impetuous reader.

Further, the claim of the East Slavic origin of collections like *SSP*, *TMO* etc. as well as *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2* is vitiated by a drastic bias in historical perspective, Picchio limiting himself to considering only their uppermost ‘stratum’ (Rus', 13th–15th c.), while the underlying ‘strata’ are known to be numerous, marked and, above all, old (9th–10th c.).

Finally, even more debatable is the claim of the “apocryphal” character of the commented versions of *StorCal* and the collections that contain it.

## II. TWO OPPOSITE POINTS OF VIEW ON THE PROBLEMS OF *StorCal-VC*

### 7. *The Problems of StorCal-VC*

*StorCal* is preceded in VC by a brief phrase linking VC 13 to VC 12 by the sole particle же in second position; the transition from *StorCal* to the subsequent narrative is effected by another brief phrase, the syntactic link of which with the preceding is ensured once more by the sole particle же; likewise, the link of *StorCal* with its narrative frame is ensured by the sole particle же:

VC 13: 1 Философъ же нде въ Царьградѣ · 2 и видѣвъ цѣсарѣа жнвѣше безъ маз-  
вы молаа бога въ црѣкѣхъ свѣтъхъ апостолѣхъ сѣда<sup>63</sup>

VC 13: 3 Есть же<sup>64</sup> въ свѣтѣхъ Софїи (...)

VC 13: 5 Есть же снцѣ прѣвага грань (...)

VC 14: 1 Веселаштоу же сѧ о боѣхъ философѣу · пакы дрюгата рѣчь прнспѣ и  
троудѣ не мьнни прѣвыихъ<sup>65</sup>

Here, the lack of a strong formal cohesion of the narrative is evident. One cannot say that Ševčenko (1967:1806) has no cause to observe that VC 14:1

<sup>63</sup> [Upon his return from the Khazarians,] ‘the philosopher went to Constantinople and, having seen the emperor, lived in silence, praying to God in the Church of the Holy Apostles.’

<sup>64</sup> By translating же with ‘in fact’, Picchio suggests that the prayer of Constantine in the Church of the Holy Apostles pertains to the chalice (as if Constantine prayed to God to reveal to him the secret of the inscription). Yet it would be more prudent to ascribe to же the value of δὲ.

<sup>65</sup> ‘While the philosopher rejoiced in God, there came up another matter and an enterprise no less than the earlier, [i.e. the Moravian mission].’

could be read as a continuation of *VC* 13:1-2, or rather, in other words, to consider *StorCal-VC* as an interpolation. But it must also be recognized that the ‘formal’ concatenation of *VC* 13 with what precedes and follows, even if tenuous, is not below the standard of *VC* and that the problem is, above all, one of ‘internal’ connections. From this point of view, it is impossible to claim that *StorCal-VC* is an external element in the narrative. In fact, to mention only the most obvious,<sup>66</sup> it is clear that one of its verses continues the anti-Judaic motive of the preceding chapters, while another forebodes the activity of Constantine among the Slavs (ch. 14–18), which starts precisely from the gift he manifested in deciphering the enigmatic inscription (or, more exactly, the computus of the numeral letters at the end of the inscription), i.e. with the invention (*VC* 14:14) of an alphabet for the Slavs.

The problem whether or not, in *VC*, *StorCal* is an interpolation, is all the more acute, as it recurs also outside of *VC* – it is known in Greek and in other Church Slavic textual organisms – and, most importantly, without any reference to Constantine.<sup>67</sup>

Further uncertainty reigns among scholars as to the text of the inscription itself. The problems concern both its formal structure and its contents.

A distinctive feature of [Inscr] (of paramount importance, if proven beyond doubt) seems to be its rhythmic organization. Suggested by the linguistic properties of the text (syntactic parallelism, paronomasies, a certain regularity in succession of isosyllabic and isotonic sequences etc.), it appears to be explicitly indicated by the term *҃ранѣ* (or *҃ранѣ*) ‘verse’,<sup>68</sup> which defines the separate lines in the text.

As concerns the latter, it must be recognized with Picchio (1979: 442, n. 2) that it is not easy to understand,<sup>69</sup> either by virtue of its ‘enigmatic’ (or pro-

<sup>66</sup> More precise observations on the ‘verbal’ connection of the inscription with *VC* 12 are given by Jakobson 1970:359 (quoted at the end of § 32 below).

<sup>67</sup> *StorCal-Tolk2* (*PChrP* and *PChrK*) do, in fact, mention Constantine (cf. notes 30 and 31 above), but we shall see (cf. § 29 below) that this is probably due to the secondary influence of *VC*.

<sup>68</sup> That *҃ранѣ* may mean ‘verse’, like the neuter *҃рано* (plural *҃ранеса*, cf. Попов 1985), is certain (cf. Jakobson 1985: 228, n. 44). But in the context in question here, *҃ранѣ* could simply mean *στίχος* ‘line of text’, as Ševčenko thinks: “The word *҃ранѣ* or *҃ранѣ* does not mean a line of poetry, but is an equivalent of the Greek *stihos*, which, *pace* the Russian word *stix*, means ‘line, verse’, the latter, for instance, in the sense of a verse in Scriptures” (1967:1806, n. 3). Yet it is not true, as Ševčenko seems to think, that this is the only meaning of *҃ранѣ*. In our context, in addition to the meanings of ‘line of text’ and ‘verse’, two more meanings of *҃ранѣ* are possible: (1) *titulus* ‘inscription’ and (2) ‘face, facet’ (e.g. of a precious stone).

<sup>69</sup> Indeed, the inscription poses more problems than the scholars studying it (Lamanskij, Petrov, Istrin, Lavrov, Jakobson, Ševčenko, etc.) so far seem to have realized. Above all, care

phetic) character or by the multiple associations with Scriptural and patristic passages implicit in it.<sup>70</sup>

Almost any word of the inscription suggests various (and, moreover, conflicting) associations with Biblical (both OT and NT) contexts and their relevant patristic exegesis. The major difficulty resides in the choice of the pertinent associations: for the expression ‘see the glory of God’ of [IIIa], one could think of Jes 35:2 (cf. p.37 below), or of Ps 16:5 ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου (cf. further Ps 96:6 and Taube 1987:164), or of Mt 24:30 ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον (...) μετὰ δόξης; the ‘first-born’ of [Ib] could allude to Christ either as the ‘first-born’ according to Rom 8:29, or to the ‘first-born from the dead’ (to the glorious life of heaven) according to Col 1:18; the ‘star’ of [Ia] could be the star that ‘came forth out of Jacob’ according to Num 24:17, or the star seen by the wise men of Mt 2:2, or the eschatological ‘lamp shining in a dark place’ of 2 Pet 2:19, or the star that symbolizes the resurrection and the power of Christ in Rev 22:16. It is important to stress, in relation to the ‘star’ of this OT (pseudo-Solomonic) prophecy, that in early exegesis the star symbolizes the word of God prior to the revelation, e.g. in Origenes: ὁ δὲ ἀστήρ δύναται σύμβολον εἶναι τοῦ φωτεινοῦ τῶν προφητῶν λόγου μαρτυροῦντος τῇ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημίᾳ (Klostermann 1941:27) ‘the star can be the symbol of the enlightened word of the prophets who testify to the coming of Christ,’ and also in Romanos Melodos (II, pp.43-77, on which cf. Bussagli 1986: 27ff.).

Constantine's feat (whether real or fictitious) is commonly thought to consist in the translation/exegesis of the inscription from Hebrew into Greek. Yet, at close consideration, the hagiographer presents Constantine interested only in the ‘computus’ of [IV].<sup>71</sup> He, indeed, insists only that the number of [IV] refers to Jesus Christ the (pseudo)Solomonic prophecy of the Messiah contained in the preceding text. Not one word is devoted to the meaning of the lines [I]-[III].

This situation is complicated by the circumstance that the integrity of the transmitted text of the inscription is open to some doubt. Thus, e.g. the number 909 does not seem to be the genuine reading.<sup>72</sup> And for line [III] we have seen

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must be taken to avoid falling prey to the temptation of ‘free’ associations. An extreme and totally aberrant case is that of Nalbantjan (1990), who lifts *StorCal-VC* out of NT and patristic philology to insert it into an indigest and historically indefinite array of error-bound speculations in mythology, semiotics and gnosticism.

<sup>70</sup> As concerns the preference which, in the exegesis of *StorCal*, should be given to 2 Pet 1:19 and Col 1:18, cf. § 29 below. – NB. I owe the references to these passages to the Biblical scholar Nello Casalini ofm (cf. also note 181 below).

<sup>71</sup> According to my interpretation (Capaldo 1990, notes 4 and 6), in contrast to lines [I]-[III], written in common Hebrew characters (the so-called ‘quadrata’), the numeral letters of line [IV] were written in Samaritan characters (the so-called ‘antiqua’), rarer and less generally known. It was probably only these last characters that ‘no one could compute or interpret’. On the use of the ‘antiqua’ in texts overall written in ‘quadrata’ cf. *Institutiones biblicae* 1951: Tab. III.

<sup>72</sup> Not a single known Byzantine computus justifies such a low number.

that Picchio supposes the influence of the commented versions.

All these difficulties are further aggravated by the fact that the sense of the Hebrew original may have been different from the interpretation given by Constantine, assuming that Constantine's translation of the inscription from Hebrew into Greek was faithful and that, in *StorCal-ES*, a reflex of its tradition has been preserved.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, the interpretation of the hagiographer (in the case that the Slavic version is, indeed, the latter's work) could be different from that of Constantine. Finally, the interpretations resulting from the commentaries (*Tolk1* and *Tolk2*), too, could be different: they could be the product of Slavic commentators and reflect successive reworkings; yet they could also, in their original core, hail back to Constantine.

### 8. A Five-Pronged Approach to VC 13.

This brief presentation already makes it evident that *StorCal-VC* can only be studied on a broad philological base:

**A** *The question of the text:* Before all, the question of the integrity of the text of VC must be resolved.

**B** *The prosodic question:* Secondly, it must be checked whether the inscription is mere prose or whether it is presented in a particular rhythmic organization.

**C** *The Greek original:* Then, the relationship of *StorCal-VC* with *StorCal-ES* must be clarified, in particular whether the original form of the inscription is the long or the short.

**D** *The relationship of the Slavic witnesses of StorCal:* Further, the *Filiationsfrage* must be tackled: is it *StorCal-VC* that depends on the commented versions, or have those taken the text of the inscription from VC and added to it the commentary? Or do all depend from one common form?

**E** *The position of StorCal in VC:* Finally, the function of *StorCal* in VC must be established; this is one of the aspects of the more general problem of the segmentation of VC (and, even more generally speaking, of its genesis).

This five-pronged approach, according to which I have sought to bring order into the problems of *StorCal-VC*, is also the organizing principle of the

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<sup>73</sup> Picchio claims that "various scholars... state that the *Inscription* on the Chalice of Saint Sophia can be nothing but an original Slavic text" ["vari studiosi... reputavano che la *Scritta* sul Calice di Santa Sofia non potesse essere altro che un testo originale slavo"] (1972:437). – I have no knowledge of anyone who treated the interpretation of *StorCal-VC* as an hagiographical topos in order to prove that it was an original Slavic text. Picchio's claim seems to be based only on a similar statement by Ševčenko which, in turn, seems to be a simple misunderstanding of a statement by Istrin (cf. below note 173).

following pages.<sup>74</sup>

### 9. *Solutions of The Unitary Type (Jakobson) and The Interpolationist Type (Ševčenko).*

The history of studies shows that now one and then another of the various aspects of the problem emerges. An idea of the variety of solutions proposed can best be given by contrasting the theses of Jakobson (1957, 1970)<sup>75</sup> and Ševčenko (1967). Their conceptions are the expression of two divergent points of view on the genesis of *StorCal-VC*, the ‘unitary’ point of view of the former being op-posed to the ‘interpolationist’ point of view of the latter.

According to Jakobson, the inscription – entered into VC in mint condition<sup>76</sup> – can be read as syllabic poetry, composed of twelve verses (of 8, 10, 9 and 12 syllables, respectively), divided into three stanzas of four verses each.<sup>77</sup> Ševčenko, however, thinks that the text is so well appointed (leaving aside the corruption of the number at the end of the inscription) that it is possible to operate with the ‘reconstructed’ text (according to Lehr-Spławiński edition), yet, contrary to Jakobson, that it is impossible to label it ‘poetry’ because the comparison to *StorCal-ES* shows it to be a literal translation from Greek (according to the technique of one-to-one correspondence).

Even on the question of the Greek original, the two scholars hold divergent views. Jakobson has no doubt that Constantine translated into Greek a (no longer extant) Hebrew inscription and that his translation, imperfectly reflected in *StorCal-ES*, is reflected in full in VC. Contrary to Jakobson, Ševčenko insists that the original form of the inscription is the short form attested in *StorCal-ES*,<sup>78</sup> while the long form transmitted in Slavic is secondary (even if it could

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<sup>74</sup> In reality, this pentadic pattern does not exhaust the problems posed by *StorCal*. In addition to those addressed here, there are at least two more: **F** the position of the inscription in the context of early Judeo-Christian literature (liturgical? eschatological?), and **G** the chalice as support of the inscription, i.e. as art-historical and cultural object. These questions cannot remain excluded from the study of *StorCal*, but they manifestly exceed the competence of a Slavist. They merit separate study.

<sup>75</sup> The 1970 paper, to judge by its title (*Похвала Константина Философа Григорию Богослову*), seems devoted exclusively to the panegyric Constantine composed in honor of Gregory Nazianzen. In reality, Jakobson develops his 1957 paper, adding many new observations on all the ‘poetic’ parts of VC.

<sup>76</sup> The text of the inscription, according to Jakobson (1970: 231), requires no reconstructive intervention (“не нуждается в реконструктивной работе”).

<sup>77</sup> For more details cf. § 20 below.

<sup>78</sup> By considering *StorCal-VC* an interpolation, Ševčenko is led to discount any relation of Constantine to the inscription and, in particular, to exclude *StorCal-ES* as a witness (no matter whether complete or mutilated) of its translation from Hebrew into Greek, explicitly attributed



have existed in Greek as well, like the short form).

As to the position of *StorCal* in *VC*, Jakobson is inclined to believe that the Slavic version of the inscription should be considered anterior to *VC* (and could go back to Constantine himself), but that it was included in *VC* from the outset. Ševčenko, however, is sure of the opposite; to him, *StorCal-VC* is a ‘borrowing’:

“it comes into it [= *VC*] from a context which originally had nothing to do with its hero” (1967: 1815).<sup>79</sup>

The only point on which neither scholar takes a clear stand is the relationship of *StorCal-VC* with the other Slavic witnesses of *StorCal*. Meanwhile, both seem to assign a secondary place to the commented forms.<sup>80</sup>

### III. PICCHIO’S PHILOLOGICAL AND EXEGETIC CONTRIBUTION TO *VC* 13

#### 10. Two ‘Operational’ Editions of *VC* 13

A different point of view on the entire range of problems of *StorCal-VC* is known to have been proposed by R. Picchio (1985). In it, he develops the results of a previous study (1972) leaving aside, however, some of his observations on the formal structure of *StorCal-VC*, which, as it seems (1988a: 9), remain valid.

First of all, Picchio, dissatisfied<sup>81</sup> with the current editions of *VC*, presents

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to Constantine by *VC* 13. – Still, even if *StorCal-VC* could be an interpolation, as Ševčenko believes, it cannot be excluded that it was derived from a document on the history of the chalice hailing from Constantine, especially if one considers, as Ševčenko himself (1967:1809) concedes, that the “research has shown *VC* to be surprisingly trustworthy” and that the interpolation may go back to the 9th c. (cf. note 79 below).

<sup>79</sup> It is curious to note that the opposite ends of both conceptions tend to touch. Indeed, it is impossible to state exactly where the difference is between the interpolationist claim of Ševčenko, according to whom the inscription (which probably existed already independently of *VC*) “might have been inserted [= in *VC*] in the ninth century,” and the unitary idea of Jakobson, according to whom the hagiographer who inserted *StorCal* in *VC* used the pre-existing text of the inscription.

<sup>80</sup> Ševčenko (1967:1810, n. 33) rules out that the commentary of *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2* could go back to Constantine. Jakobson (1985: 230, n. 50) limits himself to recording the existence of the two versions.

<sup>81</sup> Picchio devotes a lengthy note (1985:135, n.13) to the clarification of what he terms “basic methodological concepts”. Since it will be discussed in detail in §§ 16-17 below, I reproduce it in full:

“A tendency to confuse the concept of textual *restitutio* with that of “reconstruction” seems to be widespread among Slavists. The purpose of a “critical edition” is to provide a crit-

his own ‘operational’ edition of VC 13. Taking Lavrov’s (1930) edition, the first time (1972), he corrects it in three points considered corrupt in the archetype; the second time (1985), he reproduces it without alterations, but with the addition of a list of variants, devoid of the signatures of the manuscripts in order to stress that the reconstitutio of VC 13 is impossible owing to the lack of a *stemma codicum*, based on the collation of all known witnesses:

The list of variants, which I have compiled... does not mention which codex or group of codices contains a given variant. In fact, such information could become useful only if it were derived from the complete *collatio* of the extant codices (1985: 136-7).

Nevertheless, and irrespective of what he terms “the poor quality of the transmission,” Picchio considers the text of VC 13 *traditus*:

The poor quality of the transmission, even if it creates difficulties for a *restitutio* does not rule out the possibility that this is a *textus traditus* (1985: 138).

### 11. Isocolic Scansion of VC 13

The 1972 edition, in addition, presents the text of the inscription as a sequence of *cola isotonici*, i.e. of “members of a phrase with an equal number of accents and a fixed number of syllables” (1972:419):

[Ia] 4	УАША / МОА / ЧАША / МОА
3	ПРОРПЦАН / ДОНДЕЖЕ / СРБЗДА
[Ib] 3	ВЗ ПНВО / БОУДН / ГОСПОДН
3	ПРЗВЕНЬЦОВ / БАШЦОВ / НОЦЦО

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ical reading of the text as it has been handed down by the extant documents. As a rule, the *restitutio* of a reading as close as possible to the ‘original’ is therefore based on the critical choice of a given form among those handed down in variants. To proceed otherwise would mean to ignore the editor’s main task which is to separate a *textus traditus* from what is not *traditum* or, in other words, what is ‘genuine’ from what has not been handed down faithfully by the scribes, but added, deleted or altered in some way. Only in very special cases may the editor have recourse to *divinatio*, that is, to the choice of readings different from those documented by the codices. This exceptional procedure can be considered to be the equivalent of a “reconstruction”. If *divinatio* were not an exceptional procedure, the logical foundation of textual criticism would collapse. This is what happens when a text is ‘reconstructed’ *in its entirety* on the basis of abstract, that is, ‘extratextual’ considerations such as those of historical linguistics. In the case of VC, its ‘reconstruction’ has been conceived as a systematic ‘correction’ of its linguistic forms according to an alleged ‘Old Slavic norm’. Such an operation is usually based on the belief that the ‘original’ text of VC was written in the ‘Old Slavic period’. This very assumption, however, cannot be proved unless the extant textual documentation is examined according to the basic principles of the textual criticism. It is clear, in any case, that by definition a ‘reconstruction’ cannot be considered as an ‘edition’, if by edition we mean the publication of extant textual material. These considerations are intended to clarify basic methodological concepts. They do not imply reprobation of textual reconstruction *per se*. These ‘critical hypotheses’ can prove useful for other purposes provided that one does not confuse them with critical editions.”

[IIa] 3+2    на вѣковѣніе / господне / сътворена // дѣва / много  
 [IIb] 3+2    пїи / н оуїїица / вєєліємь // н вzzзїїи / алаиоуа  
 [IIIa] 5    н оузрїть / вєсь / сзнємз / славоу / его  
 [IIIb] 5    сє кназѣ / н дѣвнѣз / царѣ / посрѣдѣ / нхз

From the “prosodic analysis” (p.439) of VC 13, Picchio gains the conviction that not only the inscription, but the entire chapter are isocolically organized:

The stylistic individuality of the passage becomes apparent (...) through its isocolic reading (...) If the term ‘poetry’ can be applied to a so refined rhetoric organization, we must certainly apply it to the entire text of VC 13, and not only to the lines of the inscription (Picchio 1972:10).<sup>81a</sup>

This formulation could give the impression that Picchio does not distinguish ‘poetry’ from ‘isocolism’, but in other contexts the terminological distinction is clear: in contrast to a “poetic text”, an “isocolic text” represents “a specific type of Slavic rhythmico-syntactic structure (...) characterized by series of syntactic segments rhythmically marked by an equal number of accents” (1984:10).

Like Jakobson, Picchio claims that in an earlier phase (i.e. prior to the genesis of VC or in a more remote phase of transmission of VC than the one attested), the inscription was syllabic poetry, but was then integrated without any problem (“perfectly”)<sup>82</sup> into a context, like that of VC, characterized by isocolic scansion:

“My isocolic-accentual reading (...) coincides perfectly with the syllabic one by R. Jakobson as to the number and the composition of the cola-verses (...) I do not hesitate, at this point, to consider *in concreto* the possibility that the isocolic-accentual tradition absorbed and continued an older syllabic tradition” (1972:436).<sup>82a</sup>

## 12. A Corruption of Line [III] Emendated by Conjecture

The most important corruption of *StorCal-VC* is, according to Picchio, in line [III]. In all editions of VC, it is presented as follows (save the orthographic normalization, which is mine):

И сє кзнасѣ н оузрїтѣ вѣсь сзнємз славоу его н дѣвнѣз цѣсарѣ посрѣдѣ нхз.

This relatively simple phrase, from the point of view both of syntax and lexi-

<sup>81a</sup> “La individualità stilistica del passo risulta ben chiara (...) attraverso la lettura isocolica (...). Se il termine poesia può definire tanto scaltrita organizzazione retorica, dovremo certo riferirlo all’intero testo di VC 13 e non solo alle righe della *Scritta*” (Picchio 1972: 443).

<sup>82</sup> Upon closer inspection, the coincidence is rather less perfect than it seems to Picchio (cf. note 131 below).

<sup>82a</sup> “La mia lettura isocolico-accentuativa (...) coincide perfettamente con quella sillabica di R. Jakobson quanto al numero e alla composizione dei cola-versi (...). Non mi sembra azzardato, a questo punto, il considerare concretamente la possibilità che la tradizione isocolico-accentuativa assorba e continui una più antica tradizione sillabica” (1972: 436).

con, is a good example of the serious difficulties which modern explicators and translators of Old Church-Slavic texts have to face. Grivec translated it as follows:

Ecce princeps, et videbit universus conventus gloriam eius, et David rex inter eos.<sup>83</sup>

Yet, the identity both of the *princeps* and of the *universus conventus* are established neither by the original text, nor by this translation, nor by many other translations into modern languages.

Contrary to modern scholars, the early commentators had a clear opinion on both questions. This is how (a) *StorCal-Tolk1* and (b) *StorCal-Tolk2* comment line [IIIa]:

- (a) кнѣзь зрѣтъ Пѣлаѣ . ѡ зборъ жидове (Evseev 1907: 173, 20).  
“‘The prince sees’ is Pilate, and ‘the assembly’ are the Jews’.
- (b) Се кнѣзь . Т Пѣлатъ . зборъ жидовскъ (Wątróbska 1987: 4).  
“‘Lo, the prince’ m(eans) Pilate; ‘the assembly’ <is that> of the Jews’.

Picchio’s ‘discovery’ (1972) is that, by putting the first words of [III] (И се кнѣзь) before И Давидъ цѣсарь, two Biblical quotations are obtained:

Isaiah 35:2

VC И оузы рѣхъ въ сѣмъ славѣ бо  
Sept. Καὶ ὁ λαός μου ὄψεται τὴν δόξαν κυρίου  
Vulg. Ipsi videbunt gloriam Domini.

Ezekiel 34:24

VC И се кнѣзь И Давидъ цѣсарь посрѣдѣ ихъ.  
Sept. Καὶ ἐγὼ κύριος ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν καὶ Δαυὶδ ἄρχων ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν  
Vulg. Ego autem dominus et David princeps in medio eorum.

None of the translations and editions that mark the Biblical quotations of VC<sup>84</sup> indicate the presence of Biblical quotations in VC 13. Only Jakobson (1970: 359), who, in his analysis of *StorCal-VC*, discussed its connections (in particular those of line [III]) with the preceding and following chapters of VC, pointed out, in addition to Is 66:18, the prophecy of Is 35:1–10 and established the relationship between VC 13:8 and VC 15:3<sup>85</sup> on the basis of the common ‘al-

<sup>83</sup> This is more or less the way in which it is rendered in modern languages.

<sup>84</sup> Neither those before Picchio (from Bodjanskij 1863-73 to Grivec-Tomšič 1960), nor those after him (Florja 1981 etc.), and not even Kyas 1963, give either reference.

<sup>85</sup> “(...) The quotation from Isaiah [66:18], interpreted as a foreboding of Christ’s second coming, establishes the prophetic and messianic basis for the recognition and exaltation of the Moravian mission (...) The same reference to the prophecy of Isaiah with the addition of a chronological point of reference (въ седмѣи вѣкѣ) opens Constantine’s *Proglas* to the Slavic translation of the Gospels (...) Another highly significant quotation from Isaiah [35:5] with the same chronological element – въ седмѣи вѣкѣ нашѣ ‘in (this) seventh *saeculum* of ours’ – stands at

lusion' to Is 35.<sup>86</sup>

While Picchio himself recognizes that the lexical correspondences of the Greek and the Slavic are not entirely perfect ("the equivalencies appear to be somewhat inaccurate"), he considers the presence of the two Biblical quotations in line [III] so certain as to confirm the validity of the emendation:

"The Slavic adopting the *Sept.* text serves with absolute certainty (emphasis added M.C.) to confirm the change in word order I made in my reading" (1972:443).<sup>86a</sup>

A further confirmation of the proposed emendation can, according to Picchio, be found in the isocolic segmentation of the inscription, which shows in [III] the same isocolic sequence (2 cola of 5 accents) as in line [II].<sup>87</sup>

### 13. 'Bipartite Structure' of VC and 'Thematic Clue' for Its Second Part

Having restored the line [III], Picchio makes another discovery: upon closer examination

"The two citations from Isaiah and Ezechiel are the keystone of this hagiographic construction" (1985: 150).

According to him, they both, in fact, represent spiritual 'thematic clues' of the second part of VC (ch. 13-18: Life of Constantine, *Apostle of the Slavs*), just as other Biblical quotations at the beginning of VC contain the thematic clues of its first part (ch. 1-12: Life of Constantine, the *Philosopher*).

"The quotations from Isaiah and Ezekiel allude to the impending salvation of the Slavs and to the fact that Constantine no longer will have anything in common with the captive pastors of the OT, but will turn to the new peoples, destined to the

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the beginning of the *Slovo poxval'noe Kirillu i Mefodiju* (...). In VC, the story of the beginnings of the Moravian activity of the Philosopher already in the first lines (VC 15:3) declares this 'prophetic word' to have been accomplished together with a similar quotation from the same Isaiah (32:4)" (Jakobson 1970:359 [= 1985:236]).

<sup>86</sup> Picchio (1985:150), too, insists – but apparently independently of Jakobson – that line [III] of *StorCal-VC* (= VC 13:8) is related to VC 15:3.

<sup>86a</sup> "La ripresa slava del testo di *Sept.* richiede con assoluta evidenza lo spostamento di parole che ho adottato nella mia lettura" (1972: 443).

<sup>87</sup> In fact, if Picchio had wished(!), he also could have(!) scanned line [I] as 2 cola of 5 accents:

5 ὙΛΙΑ ΜΟΔ / ЧАША МОД / ΠΡΟΡΗЦΙΑΝ / ΔΟΝΔΕЖЕ / ΣΒΕΖΔΑ  
5 ВЗ ПНВО БОУДН / ГОСПОДН / ПРЗВЕНЬЦЮУ / БАШЮУ / ПОЦЮЮ ·

Indeed, elsewhere Picchio considers the possessive adjective clitic: / языкъ moi / (1984: 21); / A Galici / svoju reč / govorjachut / (1984: 41). Also, the dissyllabic БОУДН, like the dissyllabic СОУТЬ in the narrative frame of *StorCal-VC* (НА НЕМЪЖЕ / СОУТЬ ПИСМЕНИ, Picchio 1972: 441), could have been treated as a clitic. – Of course, this fashion of treating clitics (and enclitomena) is highly suspect; cf. note 139 below.

the glory of the Lord: *The first quotation*<sup>88</sup> is obviously intended to interpret Isaiah's vision of the New Israel as a symbol of exultant Christianity (...). This reference to Isaiah was meant as an allusion to the incumbent days of the spiritual salvation of the Slavs (...). In VC [15:3] we read that Constantine's apostleship in Moravia fulfilled the expectation raised precisely by the citation of Is. 35:2 in VC 13 (...). *The second biblical citation*<sup>89</sup> (...) would have sounded to most readers like polemical allusion to the traditional identification of the bad shepherds with the shepherds of the Old Testament (as opposed to the good shepherds of the New Law) (...). *The two citations* from Isaiah and Ezechiel are the keystone of this hagiographic construction. The 'bad shepherds' of the Old Testament tradition are rejected. The 'Philosopher' will no longer argue with them. He will speak, instead, to the Gentiles in the rising reign of Christian salvation because they shall see the glory of the Lord and David shall be prince among them" (Picchio 1985: 149-151).

#### 14. *The Archetype of VC is 'Contaminated,' 'East Slavic,' and 'Late' (13-14th c.)*

In addition to the restitution of the two Biblical quotations and the promotion of the passage that contains them from a simple ornament (as Picchio himself at first considered it<sup>90</sup>) to a pillar of VC, Picchio holds another surprise in store here: according to him, the corruption of line [III] is no trivial lapse that occurred in the transmission of the text, but depends on a contamination that took place in the archetype of VC.

Picchio starts from the observation that the passage in question – and, evi-

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<sup>88</sup> Is 35: (1) 'The wilderness and the dry land shall be glad, the desert shall rejoice and blossom (...) (2) They shall see the glory of the Lord, the magnificence of our God. (3) Strengthen the weak hands, and make firm the feeble knees. (4) Say to those who are of a fearful heart, "Be strong, fear not! Behold, your God will come with vengeance, with the recompense of God. He will come and save you." (5) The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped.'

<sup>89</sup> Ez 34: (23) 'And I will set up over them one shepherd, my servant David, and he shall feed them: he shall feed them and be their shepherd. (24) And I, the Lord, will be their God, and my servant David shall be prince among them; I, the Lord, have spoken.'

<sup>90</sup> Picchio's first hint at *StorCal-VC* ("VC 13 is like a pause", 1960: 80) had led Ševčenko(1967: 1810) – justly so, considering the general tenor of that paper – to place it on one line with Lamanskij's. Even in 1972, Picchio seems interpolationist (cf. note 95 below), as demonstrated, among other things, by the fact that he takes care to point out (1972: 443, note 2) that the archaic *cznmz* of VC 13:8 does not necessarily contradict the hypothesis that *StorCal* in VC is of recent origin; isolated interpolationist echoes recur also in Picchio 1985 (cf. notes 55 above and 185 below). The major objection to the claim of 1960 and its reiterations is that, in many unquestionably homogeneous or 'authorized' hagiographic texts, it is possible to distinguish, *in abstracto*, a narrative frame that contains textual elements 'added' to the frame (and, hence – *in abstracto*!) – subtractible from it). Picchio's error is to consider the 'subtractibility' of secondary narrative elements as proof of their compilatory origin.

dently, with the same ‘corruption’ – can be read also in the commented versions of *StorCal*. For him, the significant fact is that, in the latter, it supports an ‘apocryphal’ interpretation of the text.<sup>91</sup> Thus, to find within *VC* the apocryphal version of [III] means for Picchio to unmask the flagrancy of the contamination.

The fact that the archetype of a text is corrupt in one place is, in itself, of no particular significance. But doubt will be cast on the authenticity of the entire *VC*, if it can be proven that the corruption, notwithstanding its apparent insignificance (change of place of two words), betrays the collision with another textual tradition, apocryphal and late (“the apocryphal tradition prevailed over the orthodox one” Picchio 1985:152), and that the archetype – considering the dating (13th c.) of the commented forms of *StorCal* accepted by Picchio – turns out to be five centuries removed from the original. And it is this which seems to puzzle Picchio.

### 15. Synthetic Presentation of Picchio’s Theses

Picchio’s observations can be summarized in our pentadic model as follows:

**A State of preservation of the text:** **a** The archetype of *VC* is East Slavic, not older than the 13th c., and contaminated; **b** it can be restituted notwithstanding the numerous “scribal errors” and “redactional interventions” (1985:139); **c** the *restitutio* of *VC* 13 is unthinkable without a complete *collatio*.

**B Rhythmic scansion:** **a** The inscription is neither poetry, nor prose, but an “isocolic sequence”; **b** even the narrative frame (and, consequently, the entire ch. 13) is subject to isocolic scansion.

**C Relation to the Greek original:** Of the Greek original of *StorCal-VC*, Picchio says little. But by claiming that line [III] belongs to the author of *VC* (or rather to him who was responsible for the actual bipartite structure of *VC*), he evidently sustains, as we have seen, that the Greek original lacked line [III].<sup>92</sup>

**D Relation to the other Slavic witnesses of *StorCal*:** **a** At a certain point (13th c.?), the inscription passed from *VC*<sup>93</sup> to other textual organisms (e.g. *SSP*), where it was

<sup>91</sup> Picchio does not make it clear whether the new exegesis prompted the corruption of the passage, or whether its accidental corruption prompted the new exegesis.

<sup>92</sup> It is not clear why Picchio avoids making an explicit statement on this point, and thus hints (1985:138, note 5), in contrast with his principal thesis (that line [III] is the work of the hagiographer), at the possibility to consider *StorCal-ES* (which, as we know, lacks line [III]) not as the original form of the inscription, but as “nothing but a portion of a Greek text connected with a larger Greek tradition of the Solomon’s Chalice Story.” By trying to avoid apodictic formulations, Picchio however slides into aporetic situations like this: on one side, he claims that line [III] is an innovation of *StorCal-VC* (which of necessity presupposes its absence in the Greek prototype of the inscription), while on the other his only explicit statement on *StorCal-ES* leaves open the possibility that it is only an extract of a longer Greek version (i.e. probably including [III]).

<sup>93</sup> Or perhaps even from the Slavic source of *StorCal-VC*? As we shall see, Picchio accepts the

accompanied by a commentary with apocryphal features;<sup>94</sup> **b** In Russia (13–14th c.), the apocryphal version infiltrated into *VC*, and precisely into the witness which is at the basis of the entire manuscript tradition, eliminating from line [III] any trace of its prior orthodox version.

**E** *The position of StorCal in VC: StorCal-VC*, in its original version (i.e. prior to the contamination), is not an interpolation.<sup>95</sup> It goes back to the ‘author’ or to him who was responsible for the actual compositional structure of *VC*, which is the same. Thus, *StorCal* has the function of revealing an important compositional feature of *VC*, i.e. its bipartite structure: in fact, according to Picchio, line [III] contains the “thematic clue” (Is 35:2, Ez 34:24) to the second part of *VC*.<sup>96</sup>

The idea that *StorCal-VC* is imbued with East Slavic apocrypha has grave implications for the history of the tradition of *VC*, because it legitimizes the doubt that the case of line [III] is not isolated. Picchio, indeed, raises the question whether something similar did not occur elsewhere in the text of *VC*.<sup>97</sup>

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existence of a preceding syllabic poem. Thus, if Picchio considers line [III] as an interpolation by the hagiographer, it means that he supposes that the syllabic poem did not coincide perfectly with the actual inscription in *VC* (with which, however, the commented versions do agree). Cf. also note 131 below.

<sup>94</sup> Picchio accepts the dating and localization of *StorCal-Tolk1* and *-Tolk2* proposed by Istrin (Russia, 13th c.).

<sup>95</sup> This does not keep Picchio from being interpolationist in other cases : “That some parts of *VC*, as we read it today, may hail from the time of its Old Slavic origin, cannot be excluded with certainty. This implies in no way that all the textual material of *VC* must be of equal age. I am thinking not only of the possibility of interpolations, but also of normal additions and re-elaborations” [“Che alcune parti della *VC*, quale la leggiamo ora, possano risalire al periodo delle origini paleoslave non è certo da escludersi. Ciò non significa tuttavia che tutto il materiale testuale della *VC* debba essere ugualmente antico. Non penso solo alla possibilità di interpolazioni, ma anche a normali aggiunte o rielaborazioni” ] (1972:438).

<sup>96</sup> “The two biblical references contained in the third line of the inscription on Solomon’s Chalice are essential to the comprehension of the symbolic scene described in *VC* 13” (Picchio 1985:150).

<sup>97</sup> Positive replies to this question have recently been offered by Goldblatt (1986) and Pritsak (1988). Goldblatt presents the case of the ‘Gospel written in Russian’ (*VC* 8) as if it were parallel to that of *VC* 13 (as viewed by Picchio), i.e. as an infiltration (14th c.) of the *Skazanie o gramote russkoj* into the archetype of *VC*. But Živov (1990) has proven Goldblatt’s attempt to lack any foundation. According to Pritsak, “the Khazarian items of the *VC* were not part of the original version of that text” (1988:298), as they reflect “the political situation in Khazaria prior to 800” (at the time of Constantine, the real power was no longer in the hands of the *kagan*, as *VC* claims, but in those of the *beg*), and it is impossible that Methodius “would have written or edited the chapters of the *VC* relating to Khazars based on unrealistic or inaccurate data.” These observations do not, as Pritsak thinks, prove the Khazarian chapters of *VC* to be an interpolation; if, as it seems, at the time of Constantine’s mission the official (albeit nominal) lord of the Khazars was still the *kagan*, it is only natural for Constantine to address himself to him and not to the *beg*.



"If the apocryphal tradition prevailed over the orthodox one in such a decisive manner, what happened to the original *Vita*?" (Picchio 1985:152).

The pathos of this question determines the care taken in the following paragraphs to discuss the separate points of Picchio's philological and exegetic construction.<sup>98</sup>

#### IV. THE ECDOTIC PROBLEM<sup>99</sup>

##### **16. Provisional restitutio textus (i.e. in The Absence of a Complete collatio): Useful Enterprise or Useless Endeavor? – Linguistic Variants – Linguistic Normalization: Arbitrariness to be Avoided or Necessity?**

The critical edition of VC must, in my opinion, be the result of three operations:

**a** The *restitutio textus*.<sup>100</sup> This operation essentially consists in the *recensio* and *examinatio* of the ca. 70 witnesses of VC now known. Its aim is to identify, within the *varia lectio* of the manuscript tradition, those 'textual variants' that go back to the archetype.

**b** The stratification of the linguistic variants.<sup>101</sup> This operation is possible only on the basis of historical linguistic and literary hypotheses which can establish, for every element of a cluster of variants, the spatio-temporal and stylistic coordinates of its dif-

<sup>98</sup> And the more so, as the idea of a corrupt, East Slavic and late archetype is taken – for certain – as the foundation of a recent attempt at a critical edition of VC (Ziffer 1989, in preparation)

<sup>99</sup> The sufficiently concordant use of a certain number of key terms (concepts like *recensio*, *restitutio*, *divinatio* etc.) is proof of widespread agreement in questions of textual criticism and guarantees mutual understanding; to confirm this 'terminological concord', some definitions here (cf. e.g. notes 100 and 106 below) are quoted from Picchio, even if there is disagreement on some questions. As usual, problems arise in passing from paradigmatics (isolated definitions of separate ecdotic concepts) to syntagmatics (interrelations of the concepts), from simple to complex cases (contaminations etc.), from listing *variae lectiones* to their *examinatio*, and from elementary operations with simple *errores significativi* to those which imply stylistic evaluations and an accurate orientation on the various diasystems of the language (orthography, phonetics, morphology, lexicon etc.). – Here, I feel first and foremost forced to specify the term 'reconstruction' (which in our time tends to disappear from the practice of textual criticism): 'reconstruction', the complex of operations that lead from the archetype to the original, although *stricto sensu* beyond textual criticism, has such usefulness for research (cf. e.g. the formidable research of Šaxmatov on the Old Russian *letopisi* or, as regards VC, the observations of van Wijk 1941), that care must be taken to avoid qualifying (pejoratively) as free interventions in the data of the tradition any use of the term 'reconstruction' and any of its applications.

<sup>100</sup> "The *restitutio* is based on the critical choice of a given form among those glaned down in variants" (Picchio 1985, cf. above n. 79).

<sup>101</sup> The term 'linguistic variants' designates variants – lexical (сѣоръ vs. сѣмѣмъ etc.), morphological (нѣчѣтъ vs. нѣчѣ etc.) or syntactic (instrumental of agent vs. ѓтъ + genitive etc.) synonyms – that seem to slip through the net of stemmatics. – NB. It is worth reminding that some of these clusters of 'linguistic variants' may turn out to be normal 'textual variants' and, vice versa, that a cluster of 'textual variants' may have to be transferred to the 'linguistic variants'.

fusion.<sup>102</sup>

c The normalization of the linguistic form of the *textus restitutus*.<sup>103</sup> If the archetype of VC can be proven to go back to the 10th c., the norm must be that of Old Church Slavonic, as defined by Trubeckoj and – notably in studies of VC – by van Wijk and Jakobson (a norm obviously subject to revision, but no less certain for that).<sup>104</sup>

The major obstacle to the realization of a critical edition thus conceived, is not of a practical nature (difficulty of access to the MSS etc.) but derives from an *aporia* connected with point b, which can be formulated as follows: in order to select from the linguistic variants, one must have at one's disposal argued historical linguistic and literary hypotheses; yet in order to formulate these hypotheses, one must have at one's disposal critical editions of many texts as well as the related histories of the separate textual traditions.

In this situation, a way out seems to be to start with provisional editions, which facilitate the study of the 'linguistic variants' (surely the most obscure point an editor of early Slavic texts has to face), and only then to pass on to true and proper critical editions.

Such a backdrop would also permit a better evaluation of those few attempts – limited, moreover, to separate chapters – at provisional editions of VC (van Wijk, Kyas, Radovich)<sup>105</sup> which explicitly address the problem of 'linguistic variants'.

To judge by his two specimina of edition of VC 13, Picchio does not only not take into consideration the idea of a provisional *restitutio* itself,<sup>106</sup> but even tends to consider "abstract, that is extratextual" (1985: 135, note 13) the lingu-

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<sup>102</sup> As it seems, the use of one or the other element of a cluster of 'linguistic variants' is to be related to the 'normative' activity of various scriptorial centers (also called 'schools'), starting from the 'Cyrillo-Methodian' norm (still largely to be defined, especially as to its 'lexical type') to the norms of Preslav and Ohrid and those of the various scriptorial centers of Southern and Northern Russia before the Mongol invasion etc.

<sup>103</sup> This bears not only on the level of orthography, but also, within certain limits, on the levels of morphology and lexicon, which may lead to some confusion with the level indicated under (b) above.

<sup>104</sup> If the archetype should be proven to be younger by some decennia and, hence, to be localized in the Bulgarian area, we would lack sufficiently articulate information even on the diverse linguistic norms in use there. – NB. It is my impression that a systematic study of the manuscript tradition of VC would reveal a lack of evident traces of Eastern Bulgarian (Preslav school) antigraphs.

<sup>105</sup> Particularly praiseworthy is the attempt of Radovich, as it offers at the same time a well argued hypothesis of a stemma, albeit only 'provisional,' since it is based on a limited number of witnesses.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. the provisional critical edition of VC 13 together with the edition of *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2*. in my paper on *StorCal* (presented at the 5th Italo-Bulgarian Conference, cf. note 161 below).

stic aspects of the problem.<sup>107</sup>

**17. Divinatio:**<sup>108</sup> *Will it “Wreck The Logical Foundation of Textual Criticism” (Picchio)? – Various Conceptions of Reconstruction*

There are two more points – *divinatio* and *reconstruction* – on which Picchio tends to distance himself from practices he claims to be “widespread among Slavists”.

Picchio is convinced that Slavists make irregular use of *divinatio*, to the point that they apply it even in operations that should be governed by *restitutio*, with the result of “wrecking the logical foundation of textual scholarship”:

“If *divinatio* were not an exceptional procedure, the logical foundation of textual criticism would collapse” (1985: 135, n. 13).

As to *reconstruction*, he denounces a widespread tendency to confuse it with *restitutio*:

“A tendency to confuse the concept of textual *restitutio* with that of *reconstruction* seems to be widespread among Slavists” (1985: 135, n. 13).

While recognizing with Picchio that the procedure of *divinatio* must not be confused with *restitutio*,<sup>109</sup> i.e. that one should not make a regular use of *divinatio* in operations that should be governed by *restitutio*, one must also recognize that *divinatio* in itself is neither particularly arbitrary nor destabilizing. It is based on the same faculties (*judicium*, culture in historical linguistics, familiarity with the author's style) that are required of any editor in the phase of *examinatio*.<sup>110</sup> The only certain thing that can, in my opinion, be said of *divinatio* is that the frequency of recourse to it is, as a rule, inversely proportional to the number of hyparchetypes. For the rest, as we shall see, even Picchio happily practices

<sup>107</sup> Picchio declares his opposition to linguistic normalization, yet does not offer a single argument either against the formidable complex of reasons that are at the base of the work of the founders of historical phonology of Old Church Slavic (Trubeckoj, van Wijk), or against the imposing mass of observations on the norm (or rather, the norms) of Old (Eastern and Western) Bulgarian up to the 10-11th c. Cf. also the point of note 113 below.

<sup>108</sup> “The choice of readings different from those documented by the codices” (Picchio 1985, cf. note 81 above). – It is worth specifying that *divinatio*, which as a rule aims to reconstitute the archetype, can also – and legitimately so – proceed beyond the data of the archetype (when they are unsatisfactory) and aim to reconstitute the original.

<sup>109</sup> But Slavic medievalists do not, as a rule, appear to confuse them.

<sup>110</sup> Against an altogether too narrow conception of *examinatio* that abhors questioning *lectiones traditæ*, militates the principle that ‘ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt’. Bentley’s statement can well coexist with high standards of stemmatics (contrary to what certain adepts of this ecdotic technique may think), as testified by the stated opinion of P. Maas (1927:17); not incidentally, he himself remarks that the editor must make conjectures systematically (even if – *mirabile dictu* – only to enhance the authenticity of the *textus traditus*).

*divinatio*.

As concerns reconstruction, it must be said that Picchio's use of this term is apt to generate some confusion. He uses it to label operations vastly different from one another, except that they all seem arbitrary: thus he labels 'reconstruction' the frequent recourse to *divinatio*,<sup>111</sup> the attempt to reconstruct the *original*,<sup>112</sup> and even 'linguistic normalization'.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Cf. e.g. in the passage quoted in note 81 above: "Divinatio (...) can be considered the equivalent of a *reconstruction*."

<sup>112</sup> "I do not consider it admissible to reconstitute a hypothetical text. Since one cannot prove that our manuscripts contain the *textus receptus* of a work of the 9th c. (all indications rather suggest the contrary), I do not consider it desirable to engage in a kind of *constitutio textus*, based on a poetic norm that goes back precisely to the 9th c. The possibility of 'reconstructions', of course, remains open; however, it seems to me that what I have just said emphasizes their abstract and, ultimately, arbitrary nature" ["Il ne me semble pas admissible de rétablir un texte hypothétique. Puisqu'on ne peut pas prouver que nos manuscrits contiennent le *textus receptus* d'un ouvrage du 9e s. (tous les indices suggérant plutôt le contraire), il ne me paraît pas souhaitable qu'on s'engage dans une sorte de *constitutio textus* fondée sur une norme poétique remontant justement au 9e s. Il reste, bien entendu, la possibilité des 'reconstructions'. Il me semble, toutefois, que ce que je viens d'exposer en souligne la nature abstraite et, en définitive, arbitraire"] (Picchio 1988b:320- 321). – Picchio, it is true, states that such considerations "do not imply reprobation of textual reconstruction *per se*" and that reconstructions "can prove useful for other purposes". But at the same time he is convinced that they must be banned from critical editions. It is, however, impossible to agree with him on this point, since the true problem of conjectures that aim to remedy the lapses of a corrupt archetype remains unaddressed: it is to distinguish methodical conjectures (and/or reconstructions) from arbitrary ones. Only the latter must be kept far from the apparatus of a critical edition. Thus, e.g. the conjecture  $\Sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\ \Delta\beta\lambda\alpha$  proposed by Picchio against the transmitted  $\Sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\ \Delta\beta\lambda\alpha$  is, in my opinion, not only unmethodical, but even erroneous (cf. § 19 below) and must be ignored in a critical edition of VC. For a clear example of a conjecture ('reconstruction of the original') that must absolutely be entered in the apparatus, I permit myself to quote a passage from my paper on the homilies attributed to John the Exarch: "Let us suppose, e.g. that there are only four witnesses of  $\text{Богъ господь}$  (*De Theophania*), LMNE (in reality, these are the only witnesses at our disposal, not all known witnesses, but that does not change the substance of the reasoning): in one case (...) the normalized archetype is  $\text{нже н зѣдаемъ промыслѣнъ прѣходѣн}$ . But the editor can (and must) reconstruct, on the basis of  $\text{ὁ καὶ διὰ τῶν κτισμάτων προνοητικῶς ἐρχόμενος}$  of the source, the original  $\text{нже н зѣданиемъ промыслѣнъ прѣходѣн}$ " (Capaldo 1982: 25).

<sup>113</sup> Cf. e.g. the point at which Picchio defines reconstruction as "a systematic correction on the basis of its [=VC] linguistic forms according to an alleged 'Old Slavic norm'". Hence, "when a text is 'reconstructed' *in its entirety* on the basis of abstract, that is, 'extratextual' considerations such as those of historical linguistics," according to Picchio, "the logical foundation of textual criticism would collapse" (cf. note 81 above). – It is my opinion that the operations (concepts etc.) of historical linguistics, e.g. of Slavic, are profoundly concrete and eminently textual, because the linguistic history of Slavic (in our case, Church Slavic in all its redactions) always and exclusively operates by privileged reference to texts (manuscripts, epigraphs etc.).

It is open to doubt whether operations so diverse as orthographic normalization, stratification of linguistic variants, and conjecture to remedy corruptions of the archetype may indiscriminately be labeled ‘reconstruction’. We shall see in the next paragraph that, as concerns the *reconstruction (restitutio) of the original* and the *linguistic reconstruction*, irrespective of this doubt, irrespective also of the so many reasons that make these two operations possible and even necessary (albeit with caution) under certain conditions, Picchio himself does not disdain the former and practices, even if unsystematically, the latter.

**18. Other Objections: Picchio’s Practice Contradicts His Theory; The Practice Itself is Questionable**

It is not necessary to go into further detail here about our disagreement with Picchio on the ecdotic criteria that most affect *VC*. To our ends, it is enough to demonstrate that, in fact, he operates in accordance with the principles he attacks.

This is evident, in the first place, from the fact – already noted – that he claims to be able to make judgements on the archetype of *VC* (which would not be possible if he did not believe that even an incomplete *recensio* could offer non-aleatory indications as to the archetype).

It is further evident from the high percentage of conjectures<sup>114</sup> Picchio, in stark contrast to his proclaimed aversion of *divinatio*, introduces in his 1972 edition.

It is finally evident from the fact that his ‘operational’ editions, contrary to all assertions, presents fragments of ‘linguistic reconstruction’.<sup>115</sup>

What, indeed, are ГОСПОДН, ЦАРЬ, ХРИСТЪ (Picchio 1972: 441) – instead of the forms (Г҃И, Цѣрь, Х҃ѣ) in the manuscript (MDA-19), which is the base of Lavrov’s (and, hence, Picchio’s) edition – if not ‘reconstructions’?

Another question is whether these reconstructions are based on an organic linguistic doctrine. It is my impression that they are not. Thus, e.g. is is not clear, on what his preference of ГОСПОДН, ЦАРЬ, ХРИСТЪ by comparison to other possible solutions (ГО-

<sup>114</sup> Three in 11 lines of text; the entire *VC* (923 lines) would contain 250 of them.

<sup>115</sup> Picchio, assuming the anti-normalizing attitude typical of the old ‘documentary’ school of philology, professes the highest respect of the linguistic (orthographic, phonetic etc.) data of the manuscripts, but then lets himself inadvertently go to introduce innumerable (and, as a rule, casual) ‘linguistic reconstructions’. – NB. The percentage of modifications (confusion of *z* and *ъ*, *o* and *ω*, *φ* and *ϕ*, *h* and *ї*, etc.) introduced by Picchio in his two working editions by comparison to his antigraph (= Lavrov 1930) is very high: 39 cases in Picchio 1985, and 15 in Picchio 1972. In order to correctly evaluate these numerical data, one should bear in mind that the re-edition of the entire *VC* according to the same criteria would contain 3570 or 1980 ‘interventions’, respectively.

сподѣи, цѣсарь, хрѣстѣ) is based and – to give another example – how the ‘Russian’ transliteration of ѡ with /šč/ (bdjaščou [sic!], cf. Picchio 1985: 136) matches the ‘South Slavic’ solution adopted for the combinations of з, ѡ + liquida: \*мѡзвы, прѡвѡа (ibid.).

Russian manuscripts, even the most ancient of them, are known to present simultaneously, on one and the same page, conflicting diachronic and diatopic variants (Church Slavic, Old Bulgarian, East Slavic dialects etc.), and that one of the most acute problems of our philology is precisely how to interpret this apparently inorganic variety of linguistic facts by putting them into relation with the varying constitution, interference and convergence of diverse linguistic norms.

The lack of homogeneity of the manuscripts raises, as was noted, serious and interesting philological problems; the lack of homogeneity introduced by the editor, however, creates only unnessecary confusion.

### 19. Two Superfluous Conjectures

The conjectures which Picchio has deemed necessary to insert in his working edition of 1972 merit separate discussion.

The one that affects line [III], so central to Picchio’s construction, is intimately connected with the problem of the relations between *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-ES* and, therefore, examined in § 24 below, devoted to this problem. The other two are discussed here. They occur, one after the other, in the opening sentences of *StorCal-VC*, which Picchio reads and interprets as follows:<sup>116</sup>

- 3    ѢСТЬ ЖЕ / ВЗ СВАТѢИ / Софїи  
 3    ПОТНРЬ / ѡТЗ ДРАГАГО / КАМЕНІА  
 4    <sup>(a)</sup>СОЛОМОНА / ДѢЛА<sup>(a)</sup> / НА НЕМЖЕ / СОУТЬ <sup>(b)</sup>ПИСМЕНА  
 4    ЖНДОВЗСКИ / И САМАРЕНСКИ / ГРАНЫ / НАПИСАНА<sup>(b)</sup>  
 3+2 НХЗЖЕ / НИСТОЖЕ / НЕ МОЖАШЕ // НИ ПОЧЕСТИ / НИ СКАЗАТИ.

“Now there is in Saint Sophia a chalice of precious stone, on which there are inscriptions concerning Solomon, written in Hebrew and Samaritan verse, which no one was able either to decipher or to read” (Picchio 1972:442, note 2).

(a)-(a) СОЛОМОНА ДѢЛА: Picchio considers the transmitted СОЛОМОНА ДѢЛА a corruption hailing from the archetype and proposes to tie the conjectural СОЛОМОНА ДѢЛА to ПИСМЕНА:

“Reading СОЛОМОНА ДѢЛА, we can translate it ‘concerning Solomon,’ ‘about Solomon’ and understand the *litterae* (ПИСМЕНА) of the *Inscription* to refer to Solomon” (1972: 443).<sup>117</sup>

(b)-(b) ПИСМЕНА ЖНДОВЗСКИ И САМАРЕНСКИ ГРАНЫ НАПИСАНА: Picchio (p. 441, note 4) presents this passage as witnessed by C (= Hil-444) save in one point (НАПН-

<sup>116</sup> On my reading and interpretation of this passage, cf. n. 71 above.

<sup>117</sup> “Leggendo СОЛОМОНА ДѢЛА possiamo tradurre ‘a proposito di Salomone’, ‘de Salomone’, intendendo che le *litterae* (ПИСМЕНА) della *Scritta* si riferiscono a Salomone” (1972: 443).

сана instead of the напнсаны of C), which appears to be his correction, and explains the instrumental case as follows:

“The instrumental plural жндовзскы и самаренскы граны indicates that these letters were inscribed as Hebrew and Samaritan *titula*” (sic!) (1972: 443).<sup>118</sup>

In both cases, Picchio's choices seem to be inspired essentially by the requirements of isocolism: if, indeed, we were to read  $\text{Соломона Дѣла}$  and  $\text{Писмены жндовзскы и самаренскы гранн напнсаны}$ , we would have a sequence of *cola* in which regularity is minimal (and which, consequently, are ‘non-isocolic’), i.e.:

- 3  $\text{Есть же} / \text{вз свѣтъ} / \text{Софѣи}$   
 5  $\text{потрь} / \text{отъ драгаго} / \text{каменѣ} / \text{Соломона} / \text{Дѣла}$   
 6  $\text{на немже} / \text{соуть писмены} / \text{жндовзскы} / \text{и самаренскы} / \text{гранн} / \text{напнсаны}$   
 5  $\text{нхъже} / \text{никтоже} / \text{не можаше} / \text{ни почести} / \text{ни сказати}$ .

Of course, prosodic criteria are not by themselves disqualified from suggesting such fortunate conjectures *per divinationem*, as demonstrated e.g. by the history of textual criticism of the Greek tragedians. But it is precisely this example which reveals the lack of method in the application of prosodic criteria in the emendation of a text like VC;<sup>119</sup> apart from the fact – decisive in itself – that isocolism is entirely a construct (as discussed in greater detail in the following paragraph), it is insufficient to justify divinatory interventions.

Both ‘conjectures’, moreover, raise textological, stylistic and linguistic objections.

As concerns the first, the entire manuscript tradition of VC has  $\text{Соломона Дѣла}$  ‘operis Salomonici’,<sup>120</sup> a reading which does not create any difficulty.<sup>121</sup> In contrast, a clause like the one restituted by Picchio is, from the point of view of word order, just as improbable in Old Church Slavic as the corresponding

<sup>118</sup> “Il caso strumentale plurale жндовзскы и самаренскы граны indica che queste lettere erano scritte come *titula* [sic!] ebraici e samaritani” (1972: 443) – It should be noted that Picchio, in his translation of the inscription, gives *граны* the meaning of ‘verse’, which seems to foreshadow the meaning of ‘titulus’. Similarly, *писмена* is first translated as ‘inscriptions’ and then interpreted as ‘litterae’.

<sup>119</sup> Paraphrasing Picchio's proper words (cf. note 112 above), one could say that it is not desirable to base the *constitutio textus* on a hypothetical isocolic norm. – Rather diversely motivated are the editors' interventions in the *clausulae* of certain Byzantine authors (Hörandner 1981) and, even more diverse those in the hepta- and octosyllables of the metric homilies of Ephraem Syrus (cf. e.g. Mercati 1915).

<sup>120</sup>  $\text{Соломона}$  is the *nGsg* of the possessive adjective  $\text{Соломонъ}$ , equivalent to the genitive of the corresponding proper noun ( $\text{Соломонъ}$ ).

<sup>121</sup> One could, at most, doubt whether  $\text{Соломона Дѣла}$  refers to ‘precious stone’ or rather – and perhaps better – to ‘chalice’; in the first case, it would be an apposition to ‘precious stone’, in the second a genitive qualifying ‘chalice’.

clause (i.e. with the same word order) would be in English;<sup>122</sup> moreover, the Old Church Slavic ДѢЛА, to my knowledge, never has the meaning of Latin *de*.<sup>123</sup>

There is indeed in Saint Sophia a chalice of precious stone concerning Solomon on which there are inscriptions written in Hebrew and Samaritan verses.

[NB. ‘Concerning Solomon’ should be connected, like СОЛОМОНѢ ДѢЛА, to ‘inscriptions’ (ПИСМЕНѢ), and ‘on which’ to ‘chalice’ (ПОТНРЬ) or ‘precious stone.’]

Here is what Picchio states in an obvious attempt to face up to difficulties like these:

“The accentual *cola* are thus consistently placed in relationships of parallelism, so that a suprasegmental structure is created which implies syntactic relationships that are not otherwise indicated by prepositions, subordination etc.” (1972:419, note 3).<sup>123a</sup>

But this statement – which rather opaquely alludes to curious *suprasegmental syntactic facts* (!) – is of a purely speculative nature and is in conflict with what we do know of Old Church Slavic syntax.

According to traditional doctrine, in Slavic (as, more generally speaking, in all Indo-European languages, and not only in these) the relative clause, as a rule,<sup>124</sup> ‘branches to the right,’ so that the phrase

«chalice of precious stone on which *there are inscriptions concerning Solomon*»<sup>125</sup>

in Old Church Slavic, provided (but not conceded, cf. note 122 above) СОЛОМОНѢ ДѢЛА can mean ‘de Salomone’ and depend from ПИСМЕНѢ, should have the following word order:

ПОТНРЬ ОУТЪ ДРАГАГО КАМЕНІА НА НЕМЖЕ СОУТЬ ПИСМЕНѢ СОЛОМОНѢ ДѢЛА.

<sup>122</sup> Also taken into account should be the changes to which word order could be subject in literary or poetical language.

<sup>123</sup> In any case, a conjecture СОЛОМОНѢ ДѢЛА would be sustainable – of course, *in abstracto* – only in the meaning ‘(made) by Solomon’ (and the syntagm would have to be placed, like the transmitted СОЛОМОНѢ ДѢЛА, at the end of the second *colon*). But even with this rectification, the conjecture СОЛОМОНѢ ДѢЛА cannot be sustained, since it introduces a lexical element (ДѢЛА) in conflict with the ‘lexical type’ of VC (and VM), in which the occurrences of РАДН ‘gratia, causa’ are never (and in none of the known mss) matched by ДѢЛА ‘gratia, causa’.

<sup>123a</sup> “I cola accentuativi risultano costantemente disposti in rapporti di parallelismo, tali da creare una struttura soprasegmentale implicante rapporti sintattici non altrimenti indicati attraverso preposizioni, reggenze di subordinate, ecc.” (Picchio 1972: 419, n. 3).

<sup>124</sup> I know no exceptions to this rule and do not believe there are any; nor can ‘reconstructed’ clauses, like Picchio’s under discussion, have the value of such.

<sup>125</sup> All elements of the relative clause (italicized in the example) follow to the right of the relative pronoun..



As far as I know, no ‘suprasegmental fact’ can render acceptable phrases like

\*ПОТНРЬ ѠТЪ ДРАГАГО КАМЕНІА СОЛОМОНА ДѢЛА НА НЕМЖЕ СОУТЬ ПИСМЕНА.

\*Chalice of precious stone concerning Solomon on which there are inscriptions.

As concerns the second conjecture, it should above all be pointed out that the reading of Hil-444 is in reality proper to the entire ‘innovative’ group of South Slavic manuscripts (including Buc-135, Hop. and Petr.-8); within this group, the manuscripts G (= Zagreb, JAZU III a 47 of 1469) and 13 (= Rila, Manastir, of 1479) present three particularities, all of them innovations:

- (a) the adjectives are given in the pronominal form ЖИДОВСКИМИ, САМАРЯНСКИМИ,
- (b) ГРАНЫ is substituted by СЛОВЕСИ (-и),
- (c) НАПИСАНА is substituted by НАПИСАНИ (sequence inverse to the original!).

Thus, when Picchio conjectures НАПИСАНА, he only repeats the conjecture of Vladislav Gramatik who, in 1469 and 1479 produced two (G, 13) of the most innovative witnesses of VC.

The text established by the *recensio* (even if incomplete, cf. the stemma in Radovich 1968:127), i.e. ПИСМЕНЫ ЖИДОВСКИ И САМАРЯНСКИ ГРАНИ НАПИСАНИ, is supported by three more arguments: (a) the *usus scribendi* of VC, (b) the testimony of *StorCal-Tolk2*, and (c) a Biblical parallel (Lk 23:38):

- (a) ЕВАНГЕЛНЕ РОУСКИМИ ПИСМЕНЫ ПИСАНО (VC 8: 15),
- (b) НА НЕМЖЕ СОУТЬ НАПИСАНИ СТИСИ ТРИЕ · ІЕВРѢНСКИ И САМАРЯНСКИ ПИСМЕНЫ (Wątróbska 1987: 3),
- (c) БѢ ЖЕ И НАПІСАНЫЕ НАПІСАНО НАДЪ НИМЪ КЪНИГАМИ ЕЛЛИНСКИМИ И РИМСКИМИ И ЕВРѢНСКИМИ (Zogr. Sav.).  
 ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐπιγεγραμμένη ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαικοῖς καὶ Ἑβραικοῖς.

## V. THE PROSODIC PROBLEM

### 20. Poetry (Jakobson), prose (Ševčenko) or isocolism (Picchio)?

As early as 1957 Jakobson restituted (without any *ad hoc* adjustment) a sequence of 12 verses, subdivided in 3 stanzas of 4 verses each, the first two corresponding to line [I] and [II], respectively, the third to lines [III] (3 verses) and [IV] (1 verse):

First Stanza	Second stanza	Third stanza	
[Ia] 8+10	[IIa] 10+9	[IIIa]	10+9
[Ib] 8+10	[IIb] 12+9	[IIIb]-[IV]	12+9

In a posthumous article (1964), Stender-Petersen reached similar conclusions as Jakobson. He operated not with verses of 8, 9, 10 and 12 syllables, but with ‘zäsurgeteilte Versstrukturen’ (1964: 457) of 18 (8+10), 19 (10+9) and 21

(12+9) syllables.<sup>126</sup> In contrast to Jakobson, Stender-Petersen considered the inscription as a unique stanza:

unique stanza: [I] 18 (8+10) + 18 (8+10)  
 [II] 19 (10+9) + 21 (12+9)  
 [III] 19 (10+9) + 21 (12+9)

He compared its rhythmic structure to that of prologue to the hymn of Romanus Melodus ‘The Infernal Powers’,<sup>127</sup> which he analyzed as a more or less similar sequence of ‘zäsurgeteilte Zeile’:

Ψυχή μου, ψυχή μου, ἀνάστα, τί καθεύδεις (6+7)  
 Τὸ τέλος ἐγγίζει καὶ μέλλεις θορυβεῖσθαι (6+7)  
 ἀνάνηχον οὖν, ἵνα φείσῃται σου Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, (5+11)  
 ὁ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν. (6+6)

«Mon âme; mon âme réveille toi? Pourquoi dors-tu?

La fin approche et tu vas être troublée.

Rentre donc en toi-même, pour que t’épargne le Christ Dieu,

qui est présent partout et remplit tout» (Rom. Mel. IV (1967): 243).<sup>128</sup>

A few years later (1967), Ševčenko elaborated his discovery of *StorCal-ES* in an article dedicated to Jakobson, his ‘perceptive guide in the intricacies of the Cyrillo-methodiana,’ and proposed a negative solution to the prosodic question Jakobson (and Stender-Petersen, whose contribution had escaped his attention) had raised. He believed it impossible that the literal translation of a prose text (as which *StorCal-ES* should, in his opinion, be considered) could result in poetry. The point of Ševčenko’s irony is directed both at the supposed versification of the inscription and at the *paronomasiae* noted by Jakobson:

“It would be too much of a coincidence if a Slavic translator of a Greek prose text relied – as our translator did – on the technique of one-to-one correspondence, and came up with poetry; it would be equally unlikely if a translation, employing routine Old Church Slavic equivalents of the Greek words, should turn out to be replete with *paronomasiae*” (1966: 1815).

Jakobson reacted promptly (1970) and with similarly elegant irony, warning Ševčenko not to use his own ear as a yardstick:<sup>129</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Stender-Petersen explicitly refers to Jakobson’s ongoing research on Byzantine-Slavic hymnography.

<sup>127</sup> The title was given by Mioni (1937:151) to the hymn for Thursday of the Fifth Week of Lent, a part of the liturgical year for which the liturgical books were probably translated already at a very early (Cyrillo-Methodian or immediately post-Cyrillo-Methodian) date. For a recent edition of the hymn cf. Rom. Mel. IV, 233-261

<sup>128</sup> ‘My soul, my soul, awake! Why dost thou sleep? The end draws near and thou shalt be troubled. Retire into thyself so that thou be saved by Christ God, Who is present everywhere and Who permeates everything.’

<sup>129</sup> Incidentally, even the patriarch of Byzantine philology, K. Krumbacher, had warned his col-

“It is evident that the lexical affinity of the two versions [Greek and Slavic, MC.] cannot serve as an argument against the ‘versification’ of the translation. The sentence “The mean dog suddenly died” can be literally translated into Russian in ways which vary from 4 syllables (“злой пес вдруг сдох”) to 14 (“сви́репая соба́ка внеза́пно околела”); the literal rendition of this English prose sentence could result in Russian in a sequence of 5 *iambi* with a classic *cæsura*: “сви́репый пес внеза́пно околел” (Jakobson 1970:360 [1985:238]).

Thus Jakobson subtly appointed as guardian of his metrical observations on the inscription of *StorCal-VC* the ‘сви́репая собака’ of his great verbal sensitivity and linguistic culture.<sup>130</sup>

Immediately after Jakobson’s clarification, in the conflict about the ‘poetical’ nature of *StorCal-VC* (which pitted against one another Jakobson and Ševčenko), an ‘original’ point of view was put forward, as we have seen, by Picchio. He insisted that the opposition of prose to poetry resulted from an ambiguity, an erroneous premise:

“Once again, I have the impression that the conflict of opinions in favour or against the ‘poetic’ nature of the textual material inserted into the hagiographic narrative results from a premise, the validity of which appears to be discredited by my research (Picchio 1972: 439-440).<sup>130a</sup>

Thus, according to Picchio, Jakobson and Ševčenko had based themselves on the opposition *poetry/prose*, while in the Slavia Orthodoxa in reality a third type of textual organization was in use, the ‘isocolic’ type upon which *StorCal-VC* was based.<sup>131</sup> According to Picchio, Jakobson erred by continuing to read as

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leagues who started working on Byzantine hymnography that, in order to understand it, they would have to accustom themselves to perceive unusual rhythmic devices: “Wer den Dichter will verstehen, muss in Dichters Lande gehen, not only geographically, but also chronologically and with all his thinking and feeling” (1897:690). Cf. also Jakobson 1985: 242.

<sup>130</sup> There are those who, after the discovery of *StorCal-ES*, are completely convinced that it is no longer possible to speak of ‘poetry’ or ‘versification’ in *StorCal-VC*, nor of Constantine as its author; thus e.g. Ziffer: “Solomon’s inscription can no longer, after the discovery of the Greek original (...) by Ševčenko, be reconed among the creations of Constantine’s poetic art” (1989: 355). – Evidently, on one side, Ziffer ignores Jakobson’s *cave canem*, on the other, he unmethodically opts for the – preconceived and unproven (cf. note 78 above) – thesis that denies Constantine’s paternity of *StorCal-ES*. Ziffer proffers no arguments to lend more weight to this thesis than to the opposite one (certainly not to be accepted unreservedly, but supported by the explicit testimony of an ancient source like *VC*).

<sup>130a</sup> “Ancora una volta ho l’impressione che il conflitto di opinioni, pro o contro la natura ‘poetica’ del materiale testuale inserito nella narrazione agiografica, nasca da premesse la cui validità sembra confutata dalla mia ricerca” (Picchio 1972: 439-440).

<sup>131</sup> For the rest, Picchio’s paper has the ambitious aim to “add new perspectives to the study of the relationship of prose and poetry in the medieval literature of the Slavia Orthodoxa” [“additare nuove prospettive nello studio del rapporto fra prosa e poesia nella letteratura medievale della Slavia ortodossa”] (1972:443). And the discovery of the ‘isocolic text’, which

poetry a text which, after its incorporation into VC, had lost its earlier connotations and acquired others.<sup>132</sup>

## 21. A Critique of *The Isocolic Scansion*

The main difficulty to accept Picchio's hypothesis of an original syllabic poem, transformed into an isocolic sequence, is the fact that his text of line [III] is not the same as the one which Jakobson put at the base of his syllabic scansion.<sup>133</sup> This difficulty is further aggravated by the fact that the syllabic poem, which presents itself as composed of 12 verses (resituted by Jakobson without recourse to adjustments or conjectures), should have been composed of no more than 6 verses (i.e. the actual verses 1-4 and 7-8),<sup>134</sup> unless it were supposed that the other six are due to accident.

Apart from these difficulties (not readily overcome, and left unresolved even by Picchio), the question is, which value Picchio attributes to the isocolic scansion of VC 13 itself, considering his negative judgement on "the poor quality of the transmission" (1985: 138). Based on a single manuscript (MDA-19, the manuscript at the base of Lavrov's edition), which moreover appears to be interpolated (Lavrov 1930, van Wijk 1941, Radovich 1968), it can only pretend to represent the isocolic reading of one not particularly authoritative witness of *StorCal-VC*. Since, however, Picchio does not take into account the punctuation of MDA-19 (cf. in this respect *Žitija Kirilla i Mefodija* 1986), his segmentation

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appears to be something in between 'poetry' and 'prose' (cf. Picchio's definition reproduced in § 11 above) would represent precisely such new perspective. If I understand Picchio correctly, the 'isocolic' text of the inscription would have been read *per excessum* as 'poetic text' by Jakobson and *per defectum* as 'prose text' by Ševčenko.

<sup>132</sup> Also for other places in VC, Picchio (1983:114, 1988a:10 sq.) hypothesizes that preceding textual material was introduced and subjected to "rhetorical elaboration". Thus, e.g. concerning the Poem for Gregory Nazianzen (VC 3), Picchio insists that its incorporation in VC entailed the reformatting of the preceding syllabic poem ("my reading of an entire chapter of VC according to the rhythmico-syntactic pattern leads to a different segmentation" [than that of Trubeckoj and Jakobson] ["мое чтение по ритмическо-синтаксической схеме целой главы Ж.К. приводит к иной сегментации"] 1988a: 9-10, similarly 1988b: 320), even though he later speaks not entirely consistently of a "painless incorporation" of the Poem into the rhythmic context of VC.

<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, neither Jakobson's text of line [III] can be reduced to a tolerable isocolic sequence, nor can Picchio's (cf. § 12 above) to a preceding syllabic (and logico-syntactic) scansion of the type postulated by Jakobson. – NB. Strictly speaking, in view of Picchio's claim that the text of line [III] as read by Jakobson is corrupt, if any relationship is to be established between syllabic scansion and isocolic scansion, it can only be that the former is derived from the latter, which is obviously untenable.

<sup>134</sup> As we know, Picchio attributes line [III] to the author of VC; on the other hand, *StorCal-ES*, lacking not only [IIa] and [IV], but deprived of [III] as well, could represent a short version of the Greek original of the inscription ([Iab]+[IIb]).

3 While the following / guidelines / deal primarily  
3 with the problems /of disruption /of speech  
4 it is important /to note /that there are other /policies  
4 (for example, /those on racial /and sexual /harassment)  
5 relevant / to the administration / of the Resolution / on Rights / and Responsibilities.

more regular sequences.<sup>138</sup>

My reference here to Gagarin's innocent *plaisanterie* is calculated to express my sceptic attitude towards the isocolic theory. As is known, time has justified Pitra over Gagarin. Likewise, Picchio could be proven right in time over the diffuse scepticism towards his views.<sup>139</sup> But it goes without saying that his theory – if it is to be a theory of the rhythmic organization of Old Church Slavic texts – must then include the most important element of rhythm: the regularity of the intervals (or rather, the number of *moræ*) between accents.<sup>140</sup>

The use Picchio makes of the term and the notion of *colon* and *isocolon* is not in accordance with the Byzantinological tradition of research in rhythmic prose (Hörandner 1981) and religious poetry (Grosdidier de Matons 1977). In my opinion, the research of phenomena of isosyllabism and isotony (both in

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<sup>138</sup> Cf. the following example of a sequence of 8 *cola* of 3 accents, concluded by a final *colon* of 2 accents functioning as *cauda* ("by *cauda*, I designate a rhythmico-synatactic segment which is independent, but logically related to the preceding colon" Picchio 1984:18 note 16), taken from the same source of committee prose as in note 135 above:

- 2 Sanctions / may include
- 3 expulsion / from the meeting / or event,
- 3 arrest / or other / legal action,
- 3 disciplinary proceedings /before the Judicial / Board.
- 3 While the disciplinary / bodies / are charged
- 3 with determining / appropriate / penalties,
- 3 it is our recommendation / that the appropriate / boards
- 3 discuss / the range / of penalties
- 3+2 and make them / widely / known // in the University / Community.

Obviously, the proposed scansion is debatable in several points, but the criteria which govern it (above all, in the difficult matter of enclitics and proclitics) do not differ from Picchio's; of course, here and there some difficulty could be eased by conjectures(!), e.g. by reading 'common knowledge' instead of 'widely known' in the last colon, in order to stress the *caesura* before the *cauda*. It is on the plane of rhythm, like in the text quoted in the preceding note, that the result of our scansion is catastrophic. This is due to the fact that it neglects (just as Picchio's scansion does) to take into account in any *colon* the number of *moræ* between accents, the regularity of which is known to be the origin of rhythm!

<sup>139</sup> In contrast to Pitra, who reacted to Gagarin's observation serenely, Picchio will probably amicably limit himself to enlisting, in Jakobsonian style, some isocolic 'сви́репая соба́ка' against my deafness to the rhythms of isocolism!

<sup>140</sup> As known, in hymnography this regularity is ensured by the repetition of the same *cola* in successive stanzas. In all stanzas of one and the same kontakion, every *colon* has the same number of syllables and the same number (and position, as well) of main accents as the corresponding colon of the *idiomelon* which serves as its *heirmos* (Grosdidier de Matons 1977:128 and 140). Given an isolated stanza (of a kontakion or a canon), it would be impossible to prove that it is part of a larger hymnographic composition, unless it can be proven to be modeled after a known *idiomelon*.

prose and poetry) in Church Slavic literature should preferably be conducted within this tradition.<sup>140a</sup>

## VI. THE QUESTION OF THE GREEK ORIGINAL OF THE INSCRIPTION

### 22. *Short or Long Form of The Greek Prototype of The Slavic Inscription?*

Which relationship does the long form of the inscription witnessed in Slavic (i.e. that in three verses with the final computus: [I]-[IV]) have to the short form witnessed in Greek ([Ia], [Ib], [IIb])? Did he who was responsible for the Slavonic translation of the inscription (whether Constantine, or the hagiographer of VC, or la later compiler) add the verses [IIa], [III] and [IV], or did the copyist of *StorCal-ES* (or its antigraph) omit them,<sup>141</sup> so that the lost Greek original can simply be restituted conjecturally by retranslation into Greek of the lacking verses?

In theory, it is possible to suppose that the Greek original of the Slavic inscription (as witnessed by *StorCal-VC*, *-Tolk1* and *-Tolk2*) had one of the two following forms:

1 [Iab] + [IIb]: In this case, the Greek original of the Slavic inscription would be supposed to coincide with *StorCal-ES* and, hence, the expansion of the text would have taken place in the Slavic area.

2 [I]-[IV]: In this case, the verses [IIa] and [IIIab] and the final number ([IV]), lacking in *StorCal-ES*, would be supposed not to have lacked in the text used by the Slavic translator.

In the following reproduction of the text of *StorCal-ES*, I have added to Ševčenko's (1967) orthographic corrections one more (ἐγγρηγορῶντος instead of ἐγγρηγορόντος). It should also be noted that the layout suggests, without any pretension, a possible division of the separate 'verses' into *cola*.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140a</sup> For a severe and, to be honest, substantially justified critique of the way in which Picchio treats the accent cf. the contribution by Hinrichs to the *10th International Congress of Slavists* (Sofia, August 1988) and the discussion by Birnbaum at the 1990 annual meeting of the *American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages*. The objections of both accentologists concern the arbitrary treatment to which he subjects the clitics, as well as the lack of distinction, within the class of accentogene words, of orthotonic words and enclitomena, this in contrast to current accentological doctrine (as usefully surveyed by Garde 1976). According to Birnbaum (1990:5), "the inconsistent interpretation [by Picchio] of the accentual properties of clitics raises suspicions that the quest for isocolic structure is, as it were, creating otherwise unmotivated accentual 'facts'."

<sup>141</sup> This would not be the first case in which the Slavic had preserved a branch of the tradition not witnessed in Greek.

<sup>142</sup> This is in keeping with the hypothesis that the inscription was originally a troparion (cf.

<i>StorCal-ES</i>		<i>*IscrCal-Gr</i> <sup>143</sup>
Επίγραμμα εἰς τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Σολομῶντος Κρατήρ μου κρατήρ μου, προφήτευσον ἕως οὗ ἁστήρ, εἰς πόμα ἔσο κυρίου πρωτοτόκου ἐγρηγορῶντος ἐν νυκτί,  πίε μέθυσον τρυφῆς ἀναβόησον ἀλληλούϊα	[Ia]  [Ib]  *[IIa]  [IIb]  *[IIIa]  *[IIIb]  *[IV] <sup>145</sup>	[The same title as <i>StorCal-ES</i> or a different narrative frame] <i>idem</i>  <i>idem</i>  εἰς γεύσιν κυρίου πεπραγμένος τοῦ ἄλλου ξύλου <sup>144</sup>  <i>idem</i>  Ἰδοὺ ἄρχων καὶ ὄψεται τὸ συνέδριον· ἡ συναγωγὴ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ Δαυὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν <i>ιριθ</i>

### 23. Four Presuppositions in Favor of The Short Form, According to Picchio

We know that Ševčenko, even though he considers *StorCal-ES* the original form of the Greek inscription, states that the Slavic hagiographer may have

more details in § 29 below). – It goes without saying that the term *colon* is used here in the sense it traditionally has in Byzantine studies.

<sup>143</sup> This siglum designates the ‘full Greek version ([II]–[IV]) of the inscription’. The asterisk indicates that this version of *StorCal* is a ‘reconstruction’; it is also placed before the verses lacking in *StorCal-ES*, restituted (or rather, retranslated) from the Church Slavic.

<sup>144</sup> I must concede that this reconstruction (with τοῦ ἄλλου ξύλου in apposition to κυρίου) is as problematic as the Slavic *textus traditus*, even if the identification of Christ with the wood of the Cross (and the quasi-personification of the latter) is an ancient feature (cf. Vouaux 1922: 449–450, Aubineau 1972:86). Departing slightly from the Slavic, one could reconstitute ἐξ ἄλλου ξύλου ‘(chalice made) of other wood’. This interpretation, too, presents a difficulty, because the Slavic versions contain a note ([Narr]) according to which the chalice was made of precious stone (several or one). However, since [Inscr] is most probably independent of and prior to [Narr], this difficulty may be discounted, and the text would then allude to an opposition between the tree (wood) of Adam and that of the Cross: the chalice would then have been made not of the tree of Adam, but of the other tree (wood), i.e. that of the Cross.

<sup>145</sup> The restitution of line [IV] cannot be based on *StorCal-VC*, which seems to have made an innovation at this point. For the sequence I postulate (ιριθ ‘10-100-10-9’), cf. § 27(a) below.



known an interpolated form more or less similar to the one we have reconstructed. We know further that, contrary to Ševčenko, Picchio believes him who was responsible for *StorCal-VC* to have known the inscription in its short form; and we have seen that he is led to this idea by the fact that line [III] of *StorCal-VC* could well be explained as an interpolation by the author of *VC*.<sup>146</sup>

All things considered, the claim of an interpolation – a mainstay of Picchio’s construction – rests on four presuppositions:

1 that the Slavic *textus traditus* of line [III] of the inscription has an apocryphal connotation (irreconcilable with Constantine and, in general, the 9th c.);

2 that these apocryphal connotations, just as, more generally, the apocryphal character of the comments, are to be dated to the 13th century and to be localized in Rus’;

3 that the “apocryphal” text of [III] represents in reality a corruption, which can be emended “with absolute certainty” (Picchio 1972:443) *per divinatio-nem*;

4 that the two Biblical quotations restituted in [III] cannot be otherwise (or better) explained than as “thematic clues” to the second part of *VC* (ch. 13–18).

If Picchio does not dwell upon these presuppositions, it is probably because he is so certain as to their foundation that he considers proof superfluous.

#### **24. A Critique of The Four Presuppositions.**

All four presuppositions upon which Picchio bases his claim of the Slavic origin of line [III] appear, upon closer scrutiny, to be unfounded. For commodity’s sake, I shall present my demonstration in reverse order.

##### **(4) The Bipartite Structure of *VC* (ch. 1–12 vs. 13–18) Is not Proven**

The way in which Picchio postulates a bipartite structure for *VC* contains a double *non sequitur*. First, even if the two quotations from Isaiah and Ezekiel should be restituted in line [III] (and we shall see that it is impossible), this does not entail the necessity to attribute them to the hagiographer. Secondly, even if the two Biblical quotations do belong to the hagiographer, the function they are attributed (thematic clues to the second part of *VC*) is not demonstrated specifically, i.e. by explicit reference to data on the segmentation of the text (derived from the manuscript tradition of *VC*, from contemporary literature, from criteria of historical poetics etc.).

In §§ 31–32 below, we shall see that the positive data we have on the ancient segmentation of *VC* do not include a diptychal structure as postulated by Picchio, but testify to other types of segmentation.

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<sup>146</sup> We have already pointed out (cf. note 92 above) that Picchio is not explicit at this point.

**(3) The Restitution in [III] of The Two Biblical Quotations is Unmethodical**

The textual restauration of line [III] proposed by Picchio is unacceptable from the point of view both of textual criticism and of linguistics.

The textual criticism of many works of Old Christian literature from both the Byzantine East and the Latin West shows how important it is to resist the temptation of replacing simple Biblical allusions in the *textus traditus* by outright quotations.

In this case, the material offered by the text of the inscription itself will suffice to prove the point.

In lines [I]-[II], where various Biblical expressions are introduced and intertwined with Old and New Testamentary allusions (cf. § 7 above and § 29 below), one could be tempted, on the basis of 2 Pe 1:19 (ἕως οὗ φωσφόρος ἀνατείλη), to ‘complete’ the clause προφήτευσον ἕως οὗ ἀστήρ of [Ia] with the verb ἀνατείλη, or preferably even to put the ‘conjectural’ φωσφόρος (as *lectio difficilior*) in the place of the transmitted ἀστήρ. But to give in to the temptation would mean to give birth to *textual phantasms*. The operation is interesting, perhaps amusing and even instructive (as a device to generate ‘mechanical texts’), but profoundly unmethodical!

The examples that could be adduced are literally innumerable. I limit myself to one from a text that belongs to the same ‘literary genre’ as *StorCal*: the inscription on the so-called ‘Limburg Staurotheca’, commissioned by the proedros Basil Lecapenus, son of Romanus I (921) and a slave girl from Rus’ or Bulgaria (cf. Laurent 1953:194 sq.). The first three verses of the inscription are inspired by Is 53:2 (οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος ‘had no form or comeliness’):

- 1 Οὐ κάλλος εἶχεν ὁ κρεμασθεὶς ἐν ξύλῳ,  
ἀλλ’ ἦν ὠραῖος κάλλει Χριστὸς καὶ θνήσκων,
- 3 οὐκ εἶδος εἶχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκαλλώπιζέ μου  
τὴν δυσθέατον ἐξ ἁμαρτίας θεῶν (Frolow 1961).

There is no agreement among scholars as to the exact sequence of the verses. Which-ever the solution,<sup>147</sup> it is certain that here the restitution of an outright Biblical quotation is impossible.

In the same way, the restitution of two outright Biblical quotations in line [III] must be considered impossible.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>147</sup> The verses of the inscription are inscribed on the 4 faces of the upper side of the reliquary. Notwithstanding the uncertainty, I think that a convincing solution to the problem of their correct sequence has been provided by E. Follieri (1965:450), whom I follow.

<sup>148</sup> The objection that line [III] does not enter into confrontation with lines [I]-[II] precisely because it is the hagiographer’s interpolation, is untenable because it represents a *petitio principii*. In fact, if it is A (the restitution of the two quotations) which proves B (the interpolation), B cannot at the same time be invoked to prove A.

In [III], it should be enough to note a probable ‘allusion’ to Ezekiel, which complements the other two ‘allusions’ to Ezekiel noted in VC, i.e. the first in the *collage* of Biblical references in the Prologue, and the second in the Khazarian chapters:

НЕ ХОЩЕТЪ БО СЪМРЪТИ ГРѢШНИКОУ · НЪ ПОКАѢНИЮ И ЖИВОТУ (VC 1: 3).

Cf. Ez. 33:11 οὐ βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς ὡς τὸ ἀποστρέψαι τὸν ἀσεβῆ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν.

А БОГЪ ЕЗЕКІИЕМЪ ВЪПИЕЪ . ІАКО ПРѢСТАВЛЮ И [= ΖΑΚΟΝΖ] · И ННѢ ВАМЪ ДАМЪ (VC 10:25).<sup>149</sup>

Cf. Ez. 11:19 (= 36:26) καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καρδίαν ἑτέραν καὶ πνεῦμα καινὸν δώσω.

It is interesting to note in the second case that, although the reference to Ezekiel is explicit, the quotation is not literal. In the first case, the allusion to Ez 33:11 is certainly not derived directly from the Biblical text, since it appears clearly filtered either through liturgical texts, where it occurs in the same simplified form as in VC:

ὁ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὡς τὸ ἀποστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν (Almazov 1894-95: II, 46, 50)

НЕ ВОЛАИ СЪМРЪТИ ГРѢШНИКОУ НЪ ОБРАЩЕНЫЮ И ЖИВОТУ (Euch. Sin. f. 73b, 101a),

or filtered through hagiographico-homiletic texts, where occur both the same form (Kaestli-Junod 1983: 417, 37-38) and a syntactically even more simplified form:

ὁ μὴ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ θέλων ἀλλὰ ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν (Vita Iacobi erem. BHG<sup>3</sup> 770),

НЕ ХОТЯИ СЪМРЪТИ ГРѢШНИКОУ НЪ ОБРАЩЕНЫЮ И ЖИЗНИ (Supr. 529, 5-6).

On the linguistic level, Picchio’s conjecture is untenable as well. Even though the lexical correspondence of Greek and Slavic in lines [I]-[II] is perfect, the correspondences Picchio postulates for line [III] (cf. column B below) are completely isolated in the history of Old Church Slavic:

	(A)	(B)	(C)
	‘Normal’ Correspondence as in <i>StorCal-ES</i> (cf. §§ 1 and 22 above)	Correspondence ac- cording to Picchio	‘Normal’ Correspondence
[I] [II]			
	ПНВО	πόμα	
	ЗВЪЗДА	ἀστήρ	
	ЧАША	κρατήρ	
	ПРѢВѢНЫЦЬ	πρωτότοκος	
	ПРОРΗЦАТИ	προφητεύειν	
	ПИТИ	πίνειν	
	ΟΥПИТИ СѦ	μεθύειν	
*[III]	КЗНАСЪ	κύριος (!)	ἄρχων
	СЗНѢМЪ	λαὸς (!)	συνέδριον
			[vel συναγωγὴ]

<sup>149</sup> ‘God exclaims through Ezekiel, “I shall put and end to it [= the old Law] and give you another.”’

	(A)	(B)	(C)
	ЦѢСАРЬ	ἄρχων (!)	βασιλεὺς

Even if we were to consider a vast chronological gap between the translation of [Iab]-[IIa] and [III], we would not be in a position to indicate a period of Church Slavic in which the Greek-Slavonic correspondences postulated by Picchio could have arisen.

If the two outright Biblical quotations are restituted in [III] and it is claimed that they were inserted into the inscription by the author of VC, they must be suspected to have been translated *ad hoc* directly from Greek or to have been taken from a preexisting Church Slavic translation. In the first case, he who was responsible for the singular Greek-Slavonic correspondences of [III] would be the ‘author’ of VC, in the second case, he would be the Slavic translator of the texts of Isaiah and Ezekiel. In both cases, Picchio’s hypothesis raises unsurmountable difficulties.

The author of VC, according to Kyas (1963: 372) based himself on the Old Church Slavic translation of the Old Testament (“vychází ze staroslověnského překladu”), not only in the literal quotations, but even in paraphrases and reminiscences of Old Testament passages, in which he could use his proper expressions. And, to judge by Evseev (1897:92, 102), the translations of κύριος, λαὸς, ἄρχων – both in the lectionary and the commented texts of Isaiah – are ГОСПОДЬ, ЛЮДИЕ, КЪНΑΣЬ, respectively; similarly, the quotation of Mal 1:10 in VC 10:37 has ГОСПОДЬ for κύριος, and the quotation of Zech 9:9 in VC 10:42 has, as normal, ЦѢСАРЬ for βασιλεὺς.

Taube (1987) has attempted to solve the problem created by the correspondence ἄρχων/ЦѢСАРЬ by assuming an influence of the Vulgate (\**David rex in medio eorum*). But recourse to the Vulgate in order to explain as frequent an epitheton of David as ЦѢСАРЬ, is surely superfluous.<sup>150</sup>

On the other hand, Picchio’s hypothesis, according to which “the corruption might have been caused by mechanical accidents” (1985:145),<sup>151</sup> conflicts with the deeper sense of his construction. For his claim is that this is precisely the place where an orthodox context was apocryphized. The only way to render this claim plausible, is to prove that the peculiarities in question are due to redactional intervention. Our objections would be effectively neutralized, if it could only be proven that the peculiarities of line [III] vis-à-vis the hypothetical

<sup>150</sup> Some examples of Δαβὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς (ΔΑΒΥΔЪ ЦѢСАРЬ): Εγὼ δὲ κατεστάτην βασιλεὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ (Ps. 2:6), Аѡъ же поставленъ есмь ЦѢСАРЬ отъ него (Ps. Sin. 2: 6); Δαβὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προφῆτης, ЦѢСАРЬ бо и пророкъ ΔΑΒΥΔЪ (Homily on the Nativity, compiled by John the Exarch, cf. Capaldo 1984), etc. etc. – Taube assumes an influence of the *Vulgate* in [II] as well (cf. my objections in note 183 below).

<sup>151</sup> As to two of the singular Greek-Slavic lexical correspondences (КЪНΑΣЬ/κύριος, ЦѢСАРЬ/ἄρχων), Picchio claims that “by inverting the position of these terms we would obtain a clever reading” (Picchio 1972:145); thus, КЪНΑΣЬ would translate ἄρχων, and ЦѢСАРЬ would stand for κύριος. – While this explanation could perhaps solve the problem of the first pair (КЪНΑΣЬ/ἄρχων), it could not solve that of the second (ЦѢСАРЬ/κύριος).

source (Isaiah and Ezekiel) can satisfactorily and must of necessity be explained by locating them at a later period than that of the composition of *VC* and in a non-orthodox environment. Otherwise, the simplest explanation is that even here the Slavonic translates literally a corresponding verse of the Greek inscription, not witnessed by *StorCal-ES* and non-reducible to two outright Biblical quotations.

**(2) *The Commented Versions Are Neither East Slavic nor of The 13th Century***

The dating and localization (13th century, Rus') of the supposed "textual confusion" of [III] is based only on the fact that the available manuscript evidence is East Slavic and that its oldest witnesses go back no farther than the 13th century.

Here, as in the case of *VC* (cf. note 32 above), it seems to be on the authority of Evseev ("The Russian origin of the *Slovesa* is evident from the fact that both main components of this work (...) are known to a rather considerable degree in Russian copies", 1907:166)<sup>152</sup> that Picchio considers the period of the oldest manuscripts impenetrable:<sup>153</sup>

"The available textual documentation indicates, however, that this mistake was so deep-rooted in the entire East Slavic apocryphal tradition that a particular pseudo-exegetical tradition originated from it. (...) The 'князь' is consistently identified with Pilate, and the 'сънемъ/соборъ' with the Jews who crucified Jesus, in most manuscripts of the 'apocryphal East Slavic tradition' from the 13th to at least the 17th century" (1985: 148).

If the reader, confronted with this rather sophisticated formulation, were to doubt what point exactly the author wished to make, let me refer him to a place where Picchio clearly expresses his conviction that the error of line [III] and, more generally, the exe-

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<sup>152</sup> "Русское происхождение *Словес* видно из того, что обе главные составные части этого произведения... известны в довольно значительной степени в русских списках" (1907: 166)

<sup>153</sup> Even Goldblatt understands the passage quoted from Picchio [cf. Picchio's opening sentence above] in this way: "Riccardo Picchio's conclusions that (1) the story of 'Solomon's Chalice' belongs to an East Slavic tradition, and (2) evidence of the early circulation of *VC* pertains only to those chapters dealing with the Moravian mission, are especially relevant to elucidating the textual history of the *Vita*. On the basis of the extant textual documentation [cf. the beginning of Picchio's statement quoted] one might even conjecture that *VC* in the form that has been handed down represents a work which was put together in the East Slavic area according to a fifteenth-century compilatory scheme" (1986: 320). – Goldblatt apparently interprets Picchio's statement (according to which *StorCal-VC* "belongs to an East Slavic tradition"; cf. for the context of this expression § 5 above) in an even more radical interpolationist sense, adding two centuries after the origin of the commented versions of *StorCal* (13th c., according to Picchio) and before their role in the formation of *VC*: contrary to Picchio, or maybe misunderstanding him, Goldblatt seems to believe that *StorCal* came to form part of *VC* only in the 15th c.

genesis of *StorCal-Tolk1* and *-Tolk2* have an East Slavic origin:

“If the above considerations can prove that the misquotation of Is. 35:2 and Ezech. 34:24 was a permanent textual component of the ‘East Slavic apocryphal tradition’, it is fair to assume that the misquotation itself was at least as old as the pseudo-exegetical version of ‘Solomon’s Chalice Story’ handed down by that tradition” (1985: 148).

Against this argumentation, the objection can be raised first and foremost that the Russian manuscripts contain evident traces of Southern antigraphs,<sup>154</sup> secondly that there is a XIVth century Bulgarian witness of *StorCal-Tolk2* (GPB, F.I.376, edited by Kuev 1981), and finally and most generally, that there are several known instances of texts, beyond doubt of Old Bulgarian (IX-Xth c.) origin, which are known only from Russian manuscripts of the XV-XVIth centuries.

For the rest – and Picchio himself is conscious of this between the lines – the commentary to *StorCal* and the related ‘apocryphization’ of line [III] could have originated well before the XIIIth century:

“We do not know how much of the apocryphal material contained in these works [i.e. *Slovesa*, *Paleja*, M.C.] originated in the Greek-Byzantine community, how much was added or adapted by the first scribes of the South Slavic *Paleja* and how much was contributed by the East Slavic compilers. This situation makes it impossible for us to trace back the first occurrence of the textual confusion of the biblical citations contained in Solomon’s Chalice Story” (1985: 148).

#### (1) *The Allusion to Pilate in line [III] Can Go Back to The 9th Century*

It remains now to examine the first point, which is the ‘apocryphal’ character of line [III] which, according to Picchio, is incompatible with the Cyrillo-Methodian era (or that immediately following).

This point – the most delicate in Picchio’s entire construction – should have been solidly argued. In reality, nothing has been said about the reasons which would make the identification of the *кѣнѣѣ* with Pilate unorthodox and, considering the ‘positive’ perception of Pilate explicitly contained in the commentary to line [III], make it a feature of the East Slavic cultural area not before the XIIIth century.

Picchio’s sole commentary consists of the following observation:

“The misplaced *knjaz* was identified with Pilate(!)” (1985: 147).

The exclamation mark which concludes the sentence seems to indicate that this reference to Pilate as a witness to the glory of God so glaringly contradicts the official doctrine of the Church that it requires no proof. Contrary to what Pic-

<sup>154</sup> At least in one case (GPB Q.I.18 of the 13th c.), the South Slavic orthographic features cannot be explained by the second South Slavic influence in Rus’.

chio seems to believe, in Byzantium, in the IX-Xth centuries, i.e. in Cyril and Method's time, a 'positive' perception of Pilate was current, as testified, *inter alia*, by the Procession of Pilate (in which the emperor was dressed as Pilate), reported by the Arab traveller Harun Ibn Yahya, who was in Constantinople at the end of the IXth- beginning of the Xth century:

"The Emperor commands that on his way from the Gate of the Palace to the Church for the common people, which is in the middle of the city, be spread mats and upon them there be strewn aromatic plants and green foliage (...) The Emperor washes his hands and says to his minister: Truly, I am innocent of the blood of all men: let not God make me responsible for their blood (...)" (Vasiliev 1932: 158-9).

It is only in the Western tradition – and starting at a later date – that Pilate is persecuted by sentence without appeal!

## VII. THE RELATIONSHIP OF *StorCal-VC* WITH THE COMMENTED VERSIONS

### 25. *The Filiationsfrage: The Terms of The Problem.*

The sole point in which *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2* agree perfectly, is the text of the inscription. For the rest, as we have seen (cf. 3 a. above), the differences between them are numerous.

First of all, it is interesting to note how, taken as a whole, these differences 'harmonize' with the varying configurations of texts in which the two versions are embedded:

**a** *StorCal-Tolk1*: The tenor of the long anti-Jewish (and Mariological) commentary agrees with the general anti-Jewish (and Mariological) tendency of *SSP*.

**b** *StorCal-Tolk2* (TMO, MelSb and LavrSb): The schematic aspect of the short commentary of this type agrees with the 'erotapocritical' exegetic character of the host collections.<sup>155</sup>

**c** *StorCal-Tolk2* (PChrP, PChrK): The presence of [Vlad] in these versions is well explained by the chronographic context of *PribPal* and, more generally, of these *Palejas*.

The adaptation of the Chalice story to the support structure is evident even in the case of *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-ES*:

**d** *StorCal-VC*: The absence of commentary to lines [I]-[III] and the insistence on

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<sup>155</sup> Cf. Veder's observation as to the treatment of the sources by him who was responsible for *TMO*: "All of the texts... were formally made exegetic by dividing them into quotations and commentary" (1990: 602). This observation is valid for MelSb as well (at least for the section of which *StorCal-Tolk2* forms a part).

Constantine's ability to connect [IV] to [I]- [III] seem to agree with the hagiographic design of VC.

e *StorCal-ES*: In agreement with the context into which it is embedded (cf. note 12 above),<sup>156</sup> this version of *StorCal* has the aspect of a paraliturgical text, e.g. a troparion for the Paschal vigil, or an inscription on a eucharistic chalice, etc.

The preceding makes it clear that the evolution of *StorCal* in the Slavic area was so intense as to effectively obliterate the genetic relationships of the various versions.

To establish the starting point of the textual history of *StorCal* in Slavic is – from more than one point of view – a question of paramount importance; it notably has a series of implications for the genesis of VC, the prehistory of the collections (*SSP*, *TMO*, etc.), and our picture of Constantine's literary activity.

All things considered, the problem can be summarized in a double series of questions, the first concerning the relationship between the short and the long commented version, the second concerning the relationship between the commented versions and *StorCal-VC*:

f Is the long form derived from the short or, vice versa, the short from the long?

g Is the form without commentary (*StorCal-VC*) derived from the commented versions or are the latter derived from the former? Or are they both derived from a common source?

## 26. Evseev's Theses – The Filiation Proposed by Picchio: *StorCal-VC* → *StorCal-Tolk1/-Tolk2* → *StorCal-VC*

The pages Evseev devoted to these problems are replete with interesting observations, especially concerning the relationship of the commentary to Christian dogma and its expression in liturgical readings and hymnody (1970:161-163). But the general outline he presents of the evolution of *StorCal* in Slavic even though fragmentary – especially merits further elaboration; in fact, it invites it by raising problems without solving them.

First of all, Evseev is convinced that the version of *StorCal* without commentary is a translation from the Greek, made in the South Slavic area (cf. Fig. 2, a').<sup>157</sup>

Evseev does not define the structural context in which the Greek inscription occurred at the time of translation, nor does he establish the context of which it formed part, nor does he specify whether the inscription was provided with a narrative frame (like e.

<sup>156</sup> Ševčenko terms "farrago of texts" and "hodgepodge" (1967:1812) the context in which *StorCal-ES* is inserted. My impression is that it is no chance configuration of unrelated texts.

<sup>157</sup> "The prophecy on the chalice of the short, uncommented redaction is of Greek origin and was probably translated in the South" ["Пророчество о чаше краткой нетолковой редакции происхождения греческого и переведено, вероятно, на юге"] (1907: 166).



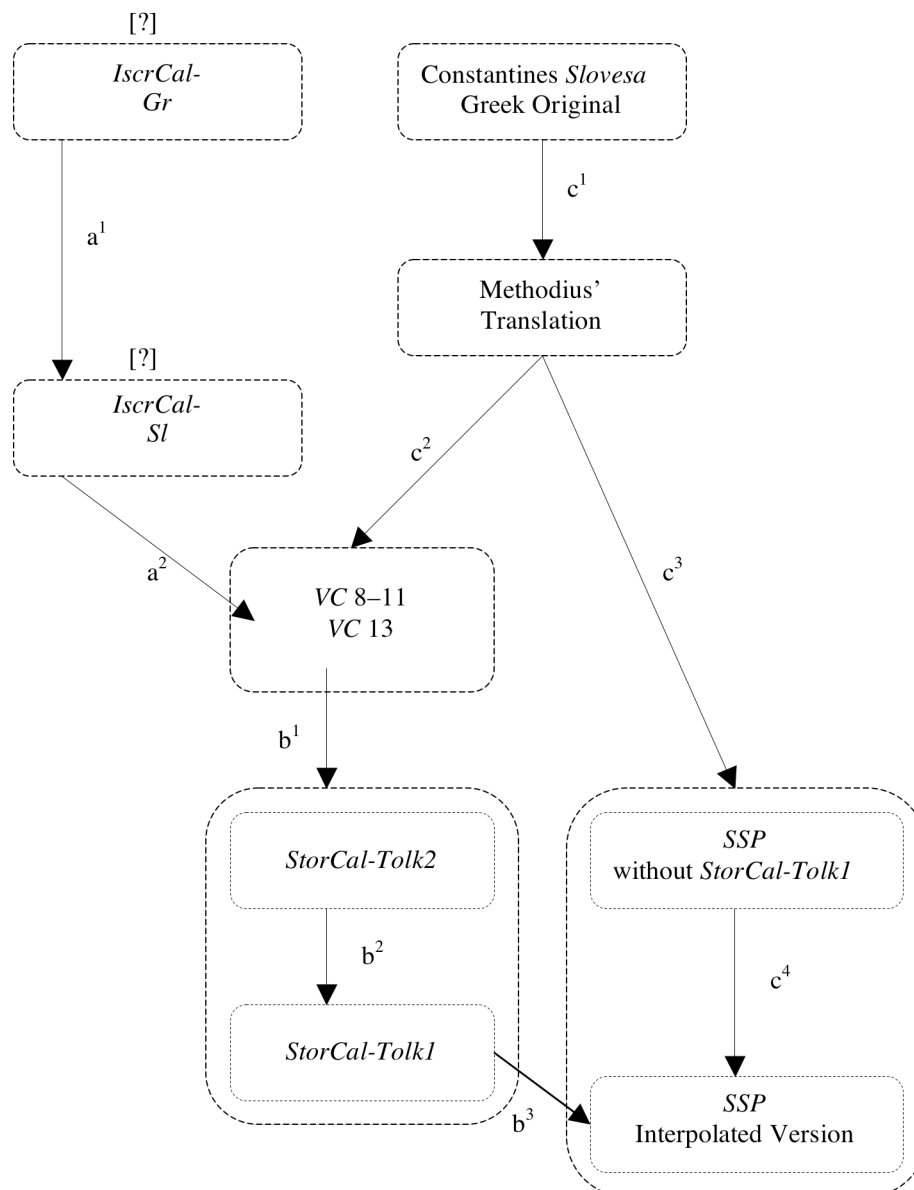


Fig. 2: Evseev's Theses on the History of *StorCal* in Slavic (my reconstruction)

g. *StorCal-VC*), nor whether Constantine had any part in its translation from the Hebrew and/or its translation into Slavic. In Fig. 2, I have made explicit the uncertainties by putting a question mark against those structural contexts in which the uncommented versions (both Greek and Slavic) of *StorCal* recur outside of VC.

Secondly, he believes that *StorCal-Tolk1* entered into *SSP* at a more recent stage of the history of that collection (cf.  $b^3$  in Fig. 2), more precisely within an interpolation (вставка).<sup>158</sup>

Here, too, Evseev fails to specify important details: he only hints without making it clear, e.g. whether the starting point of the commented versions is *StorCal-VC* (which is what I have noted in  $b^1$  in Fig. 2), and whether *StorCal-Tolk1* should in fact be considered an expansion of *StorCal-Tolk2* (which is what I have noted in  $b^2$  in Fig. 2; he seems to agree with Istrin, who believed in the dependence *StorCal-Tolk2* → *StorCal-Tolk1*, cf. note 162), nor does he determine the type of collection that supported the diffusion of *StorCal-Tolk2* and *StorCal-Tolk1* before the passage of the latter to *SSP*.

Finally, as concerns the *Slovesa* of Constantine translated by Methodius<sup>159</sup> (to which, according to Evseev, go back both *SSP* and *VC*), he claims that to *VC* they provided only the content of the Khazarian chapters (cf.  $c^2$  in Fig. 2) and to *SSP* all (or part) of the Old Testament prophecies (cf.  $c^3$  in Fig. 2), but not *StorCal-Tolk1*.

Evseev's evidently imperfectly interlocking observations can be summarized in the following three formulas:

- a** \**IscrCal* [Greek] → \**IscrCal* [Slavic] → *StorCal-VC*
- b** *StorCal-VC* → *StorCal-Tolk2* → *StorCal-Tolk1*
- c** \**Slovesa* of Costantine | *SSP* (original version [without *StorCal-Tolk1*])  
| *VC* (capp. 8-11)

Evseev's observations have been variously misinterpreted (Ševčenko 1967, Dobrev 1977: 152, n. 55, etc.); as a rule, the distinction of **a** and **b** was neglected, while in **c** *Slovesa* and *SSP* were confused. As a result, Evseev was credited with the claim that

<sup>158</sup> "[The interpolation] represents a secondary exegesis of the previously commented Book 9 of Proverbs with the inclusion, at this occasion, of the apocryphal prophecy on Solomon's chalice. This interpolation must be considered already a deposit on the monument, its remake" ["<Вставка> представляет вторичное истолкование уже протолкованной 9 гл. кн. Притчей с внесением по этому поводу апокрифического пророчества о чаше Соломоновой. Вставку эту следует признать уже наслоением памятника, его переработкой"] (1907: 158). – It is not certain that the prophecy of *StorCal-Tolk1* has its origin in Prov 9 (cf. note 32 above).

<sup>159</sup> "The prototype, which has not come down to us, of the oldest exegetic part of the *Slovesa* [= *SSP*, M.C.] ranged among the monuments which were perused by the compiler of the *Vita* of Cyril" ["Не дошедший до нас настоящий прототип древнейшей истолковательной части *Словес* [= *SSP*, M.C.] стоял в круге тех памятников, которыми пользовался составитель *Жития Кирилла*"] (1907:166). – From the context of the passage it is clear that the text to which both *SSP* and *VC* go back, are the *Slovesa* (Discourses) in which Constantine, as we know from the report in *VC* 10:96, committed to writing the arguments discussed with the Jews during the Khazarian mission, and which Method translated into Slavic.

VC was dependent upon SSP (i.e.  $SSP \rightarrow VC$ ).<sup>160</sup>

The idea Picchio has formed of the relationships between the different versions of *StorCal* represents, on the one hand, a simplified (even mutilated) version of Evseev's point of view, and, on the other hand, its expansion without adstruction.

He does not broach the question of the sources of *StorCal-VC*,<sup>161</sup> nor does he make a pronouncement on the relationships between the short and long commented versions, while all the same voicing his conviction that they are Russianized (or Russian).

Contrary to Evseev, who determined the commented versions as 'Russianized', Istrin spoke of 'Russian compositions'. He simply intended to state that the elements *StorCal-Tolk1* has in excess of *StorCal-Tolk2* are Russian: "The author of our entry [= *StorCal-Tolk1*] used precisely the full redaction [= *StorCal-Tolk2*, by comparison to *StorCal-Tolk1*], reworking and commenting the commentaries" (1903:210)<sup>162</sup>. Evseev interpreted this statement as if Istrin had claimed even the uncommented version of *StorCal* (i.e., in other words, *StorCal-VC*) to be Russian:

"Solomon's prophecy on the chalice (...) was marked by V.M. Istrin as a Russian work. It would be more correct, *inter alia* in view of its commentaries, to consider it only Russianized, because the short, uncommented version of the prophecy on the chalice is, in our stated opinion, of Greek origin and was probably translated in the South" (Evseev 1907: 166).<sup>163</sup>

Evseev's formulation put a start to misunderstanding Istrin's thesis; it was taken over by Ševčenko (cf. note 168 below) and passed on to Picchio (cf. note 73 above).

Further than Evseev, Picchio believes in the late dating of the commented

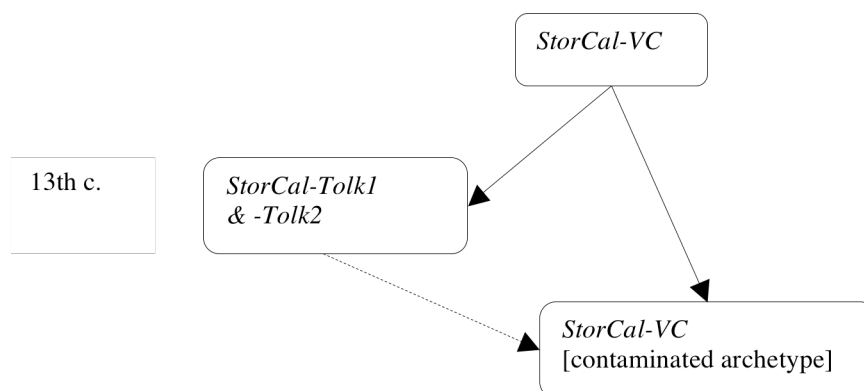
<sup>160</sup> Cf. most recently Trendafilov (1985: 39): "Evseev nimmt an, dass der Autor der VC die *Slovesa* bei seiner Arbeit benutzte. Dadurch bestreitet er die These von der Altertümlichkeit der VC, die seiner Meinung nach erst nach der 13. Jh., in der Zeit der Entstehung der *Slovesa*, geschrieben worden sei. Es ist aber doch sehr wahrscheinlich, daß dem Autor der *Slovesa* ein vollständigerer Text von Konstantins polemischen Werk gegen die Judaisten zur Verfügung stand. Man darf nämlich nicht vergessen, dass sich in den *Slovesa* eine Episode aus der VC (Kap. XIII) in ihrer vollständigen Redaktion findet."

<sup>161</sup> We have seen that Picchio, like Jakobson, believes *StorCal-VC* to stem from a preceding syllabic poem, but like Evseev he fails to specify either the context to which it belonged or whether it was Constantine's work. Picchio essentially seems to stay mid-way between Jakobson and Evseev.

<sup>162</sup> "Автор нашей статьи [= *StorCal-Tolk1*] воспользовался именно полной редакцией [= *StorCal-Tolk2*], причем толкования перерабатывал и толковал" (1903: 210).

<sup>163</sup> "Пророчество Соломоново о чаше (...) отмечено В.М. Истриным как русское произведение. Правильнее будет считать его, впрочем в виду его толкований, только обруселым, так как пророчество о чаше краткой нетолковой редакции, по нашему ранее указанному мнению происхождения греческого и переведено, вероятно, на юге" (Evseev 1907: 166).

versions (not earlier than the 13th c.) and, moreover, envisages the possibility that they contaminated the archetype of *VC* (which, hence, could not antedate the 13th c.): On the first point, he seems to follow Istrin, according to whom the commented versions are not anterior to the 13th c.;<sup>164</sup> on the second point, he bases himself essentially on the supposed corruption of line [III] of the inscription (passed, in his opinion, to *StorCal-VC* from the commented versions). This can be graphically summarized as follows:



## 27. Critique of Picchio's Filiation

In a paper which I devoted solely to the question of the relations between the Slavic versions of *StorCal* and the prehistory of the collections that transmit it, I reached conclusions widely differing from those of Evseev.<sup>165</sup> Three points emerge with great clarity:

**a** *StorCal-Tolk1*, as concerns the inscription, cannot in any way depend on *StorCal-VC*,

**b** the commentaries of *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2* are in no way at variance with orthodoxy,

<sup>164</sup> The most recent source of *SSP* would, according to Istrin, be the *Ellinskij i rimskij letopisec* (which he dates posterior to 1204). Moreover, Istrin believed that the MS he studied (Kir.-Bel. 67/1144, 15th c.) contained an explicit chronological reference: *ѿ того бо полова до нѣшнѣшнѣго лѣта (...) естъ лѣтъ ... а нѣ безъ тридесѣтехъ и трехъ лѣтехъ* 'from that destruction [= of Jerusalem in 75 A.D. by Titus] until today, 1200 years less thirty three years [= 1167] have passed'; this would offer a precise dating of *SSP* to 75 + 1167 = 1241 A.D. – Against this dating cf. the observations in note 175 below.

<sup>165</sup> I refer to my contribution to the 5th Italo-Bulgarian Congress (Pisa, 24- 28 September 1990), entitled "The Slavic Tradition of a Pseudo-Solomonic Christological Prophecy". – In this paper, it remains uncertain which place *StorCal-Tolk2* occupies vis-à-vis the other two versions, which may be supposed to be derived, independently of one another, from a common source (cf. Fig. 3 below). – NB. I hope soon to be able to check materials previously inaccessible to me (*PChrK*, *PribPal*, *SSP*) and, thereby, to reach more reliable conclusions on the status of *StorCal-Tolk2* as well.

c the *terminus a quo* of their dating can well be the end of the 9th c. and a possible ascription of the commentary to Constantine cannot be excluded.<sup>166</sup>

For details of the argumentation, I refer to the paper cited. Here, I limit myself to certain facts that make it necessary to modify Evseev's filiation and, at the same time, to renounce the innovations introduced into it by Picchio.

#### a. *StorCal-Tolk1 Does not Depend from StorCal-VC*

In *StorCal-Tolk1*, line [IV] of the inscription presents a reading different from both other versions:

[IV] of *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-Tolk2*     $\text{ЦѢ}$  '909'<sup>167</sup>

[IV] of *StorCal-Tolk1*                             $\text{ѠѢ}$  '10 100 9'.

The reading of *StorCal-Tolk1* makes it possible to reconstitute the original number of the Slavic inscription –  $\text{ѠѢ}$  '10 100 10 9' – and, hence, to shed light on the 'computus' [Razč] as presented by Constantine himself:

Now having subtly computed it, the Philosopher found (that) from the twelfth year of Solomon's reign to the reign of Christ there (are) nine hundred and nine [NB. The number is to be corrected, as will be shown, to '1019'!] years (VC 13:9-10).<sup>168</sup>

Constantine's computus would have consisted in discovering a significant number ( $\rho\alpha\zeta\chi\eta\sigma\tau\eta$ ,  $\psi\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ ) in the four letters (digits) placed at the end of the text of the inscription and apparently devoid of significance:

$(10 \times 100) + (10 + 9) = 1019$  a.C.

Indeed, as Solomon's reign – according to the computus of Maximus the Confessor, which Constantine follows – started in 1031 BC, the twelfth year ( $1031 - 12 = 1019$ ) corresponds exactly to 1019 BC. Thus '1019' must be the number which Constantine found as a result of his computus.

The number '1019' has left some traces in *StorCal-Tolk1*, while the other two versions only have the corrupt form '909'.

The passage from  $\text{ѠѢ}$  '1019' to  $\text{ЦѢ}$  '909' can easily be explained by the resemblance of  $\text{Ѡ}$  ('1000') and  $\text{Ц}$  ('900') in old Cyrillic (Simonov 1977) and by the fact that

<sup>166</sup> Ševčenko (1967: 1810) decidedly rejects the idea of attributing the commentary to Constantine ("I find it difficult to understand how anyone should want to add this lucubration of dubious value to Constantine's already swollen literary dossier"), but fails to provide arguments for his conviction.

<sup>167</sup> It is certain that '909', witnessed by all known MSS, hails from the respective archetypes. The fact that '909' can also be found within the MS tradition of *StorCal-Tolk1* could lead to suppose a secondary influence of VC (*StorCal-VC*) upon SSP (*StorCal-Tolk1*), but could also be due to independent error. It could also be supposed, as I am inclined to think, that the corruption originated already in the common source of *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-VC*.

<sup>168</sup> It should be remembered that my translation of the beginning of verse 9 differs from the current interpretations. For more details cf. Capaldo 1990: 946, note 4.

Ϡ ('19') could well have been read as 'and 9'.<sup>169</sup>

# **b. The 'Quasi-Orthodox' Character of The Commentary in StorCal-Tolk1 and StorCal-Tolk2**

Whether it is acceptable to qualify *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2* as well as the collections that transmit them as 'apocryphal compilations', depends on the meaning given to the term 'apocryphal'. In common usage, it means both 'uncanonical' and 'heterodox' (or meanings between these two poles).

In reference to our collections and, in particular, to *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2*, the synonymic use of 'at variance with orthodoxy' (or outrightly 'heterodox') does not seem appropriate. This can be demonstrated by the same passage which served Picchio as a base to claim the 'apocryphal'<sup>170</sup> ('unorthodox') character of the commented versions of *StorCal*, i.e. the reference to Pilate:

*StorCal-Tolk1*<sup>171</sup>

КѢЗЬ ЗРѢТЬ ПИЛАТЪ · Δ ΖΒΟΡ ЖИΔОВЕ · ΨΖΡѢША СЛАВѢ ЕГО · ВЪСКРѢНІЕ ЕГО ВИДѢВШЕ ΨЖА-  
СОША (...) ΡΑΖΔΜΒΗ ΗΝΟΒΕΡΖΗΗ · ΚΑ ΤΗ ΗΖΖΙΔΒΗ ΣΟΛΟΜΟϠ Ω ΧϠ (Evseev 1907: 173,  
20-29).

"The prince sees" - Pilate, and "the assembly" - the Jews. "They saw His glory" – having seen His resurrection, they were afraid (...) Understand, you infidel, how Solomon manifestly spoke to you of Christ.'

*StorCal-Tolk2 (TMO)*

СѢ КНАЗЬ · Т ПИЛАТЪ · СΒΟΡΖ ЖИΔОВЪСКЪ ОΥΖΡΑΤЬ СΛΑΒΟΥ ΙΕΓΟ · Т ОΥΖΡΑΤЬ ВЪСКРѢ-  
СЕНІЕ ΧΒΟ · Н ОΥЖАСНОУТЬ СΛ (Wątróbska 1987: 4).

"Lo, the Prince" s<ignifies> Pilate, "the assembly" <is that> of the Jews, "shall see His glory" s<ignifies> they shall see the resurrection of Christ and be afraid.'

To what I have said of the positive perception of Pilate in 9–10th c. Byzantium (cf. § 24(1) above), I can add that the two passages quoted may contain, at most, a vague reference to the *Gospel of Nicodemus*,<sup>172</sup> for which the quali-

<sup>169</sup> Concerning Ϡ '19' it should be observed that of ancient the digits even of the second decade could have the sequence 'decade + unit'.

<sup>170</sup> Picchio's use of this term ("We may consider this writing as connected with the so-called 'popular Bible', or we may define it as 'apocryphal' in the broadest sense of the word", 1985: 147) does not make it clear which of the two meanings of the term he has in mind. The general impression conveyed by his statements on the problem is that, to him, the commentaries surely are marginal to orthodoxy: "Throughout the work, biblical words and all kind of apocryphal themes are mixed in a peculiar type of pseudo-exegesis which, for sure, would not have been approved by any trained theologian" (p. 147).

<sup>171</sup> I reproduce the punctuation of the editions (which, as it seems, reproduce that of the MSS) so that the reader can more readily understand that my translation is purely conjectural.

<sup>172</sup> As I have pointed out (cf. note 61 above), the *Gospel of Nicodemus* played an important part

fication ‘apocryphal’ is appropriate only in the sense of ‘uncanonical’, or better ‘quasi-canonical’.<sup>173</sup>

It is, in fact, one of the rare ancient texts to portray both Pilate and the Jews as stupefied in view of the manifestation of Christ’s power:

Pilatus vero videns, *timor* apprehendit eum (ΠΗΛΑΤΖ ЖЕ ВΗΔΑ · СТРАΧΖ ΟΒΑΤΖ ΕΓΟ) (Vaillant 1968: 9).

Cum hæc omnia audissent principes sacerdotum et ceteri sacerdotes et levitæ, *obstupefacti sunt* (...ΒΕΛΜΗ ΟΥΒΟΙΔΗΕ СЕ [var. СЗΔΡΟΓΝΩША СΛ]) (Vaillant 1968: 9, 49).

### c. The termini a quo and post quem non of *The Doctrinal Motifs Present in StorCal-Tolk1 and StorCal-Tolk2*

That the christological motifs present in the two commented versions of *StorCal* are ancient, was already proven by Evseev, who reliably dates them to the 4–5th centuries (1907:160 sq.). As concerns the mariological motifs (proper to *StorCal-Tolk1* only), the situation is less clear; Evseev dated them to a time no later than the 8th century.<sup>174</sup> But it cannot be excluded that they originated two or three centuries earlier.

In fact, upon close scrutiny, many of the apparently ‘recent’ attributes of the Mother of God can be shown to belong to the first great Marian efflorescence after the Council of Ephesus (410 A.D.). This is almost certainly the case of e.g. the qualification – present in *StorCal-Tolk1* – of the Virgin as ‘cup of salvation’:

Ω ΤΟΗЖЕ ЧАШΗ ΔΕΖ ΕΙΠΕ ΓΛΑ · ЧАШЮ СΠΗΝΗΔ ΠΡΗΗΜΟΥ ΗΜΑ ΓΝΕ ΠΡΗΖΟΒΟΥ · ΥΔΗΑ СΠΕΝΑΤΑ ΔΒΑ ЧТАТА · ВЪРΟΥЮЩИΗ В НЕЯ СΠСЪТ СΛ ΗΜΕΝΕ ΓННМЗ · БЕЛНТ ЖЕ СОЛОМО-  
НЗ (Evseev 1907: 172)

‘Of this same cup, David had already spoken, “I will lift up the cup of salvation and call on the name of the Lord” (Ps 115:4). “Cup of salvation” (is) the pure Virgin. Those who believe in Her, shall be saved through the name of the Lord.’

As can be seen, this motif is consciously derived from a Psalter verse (115:4). And we know well that, already immediately after the Council of Ephesus, i.e. starting with the Great Commentary of Hesychius of Jerusalem (mid 5th c.), the references to the *theotokos* become more prominent in the Psalter commentaries (Devreesse 1970: 278).

To determine the terminus *post quem* non is more difficult. A first – and most imperfect – approximation is given by the dating (13th c.) of the earliest

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in the formation and development of the legend of the blood of Christ, witnesses of which are – directly or indirectly – also the different versions of *StorCal*.

<sup>173</sup> It was, indeed, not only reverently used by the Fathers and orthodox ecclesiastical authors, but also had paraliturgical functions. Cf. most recently Naumow 1976:63 sq.

<sup>174</sup> “To this time (8th c.) as the earliest limit, can also be ascribed, for the time being, the appearance of the mariological commentaries” [“К этому времени (VIII в.), как к самому раннему пределу, покамест, и можно относить и появленис богородичных толкований”] (Evseev 1907: 162).

witnesses of *StorCal-Tolk1* and *StorCal-Tolk2* (or their antigraphs).<sup>175</sup> More significant, if it could be reliably established, would be the dating of the collections (*SSP*, *TMO*, *MelSb*, *LavrSb*, *PChrP*, *PChrK*) which incorporate the commented forms of *StorCal*. And, of course, ultimate reliability could be found in the dating of their sources, in particular that from which *StorCal* was taken (without alterations).

The question of the genesis of these collections is extraordinarily complicated and remains to be elucidated in full. Nevertheless, some facts can be established even now:

**1** None of these collections reproduces an identical Greek collection. They are, in fact, compilations of Slavic materials (even if in majority translated from Greek).

As concerns *TMO*, *MelSb*, *LavrSb*,<sup>176</sup> this has been convincingly demonstrated (cf. Wątróbska 1987, Kuev 1981, Veder 1982 and 1990). Even in the case of *PribPal*, the nature of the Slavic compilation is beyond discussion.

The situation is less clear for *SSP*. There is no insight as yet into its sources. Istrin states: “What is its [= *SSP*] origin? Before all, it must be said that it is not Greek, as proven by the presence in it of the Story of Solomon’s Chalice” [“Какого она [= *SSP*] происхождения? Прежде всего, нужно сказать, что негреческого, что доказывается присутствием в ней сказания о потире Саломона” (1903: 210).<sup>177</sup>

**2** The known forms of the collections are the result of an intensive evolution.

As concerns *SSP*, an ancient, purely exegetic stage must be distinguished from a more recent stage (not necessarily to be dated to the 13th c., as Istrin believed) in which it was enriched with chronological elements.<sup>178</sup> The dating and localization of

<sup>175</sup> The earliest witnesses of *StorCal-Tolk1* are of the 15th c., but the antigraph of one of them (Kir.-Bel. 67/1144) can be dated to ca. 1234-1242 (cf. note 160 above). Of *StorCal-Tolk2*, the earliest witness is of the beginning of the 13th c. (GPB, Q.p.I.18). – As noted (cf. § 24 (2) above), it is on the basis of the dating and localization of the earliest MSS that Picchio assigns the exegesis of *StorCal* to the 13th c.

<sup>176</sup> Even the *Написанне о правѣхъ вѣрѣ* (ff. 93v-101v), until recently generally considered to be an original work of Constantine the Philosopher, turned out to be a translation from Greek (cf. Jurčenko 1989 and the bibliography cited there).

<sup>177</sup> The sense of this statement is the following (I italicize the additions required from the context): ‘What is the origin of *SSP*? Before all, it must be said that the collection is not of Greek origin, *but a compilation of pre-existing Slavic materials, in turn translated from Greek*, as proven by the presence in it of *StorCal*, of which he who was responsible for *SSP* used a pre-existing Slavic version.’ – Misunderstanding this statement, as Evseev had misunderstood it before him (cf. § 24 above), Ševčenko attributed to Istrin the claim he never made, that *StorCal* was an original Slavic composition, and ironized “...he must have been nodding when he wrote these lines” (1967: 1812, note 43).

<sup>178</sup> “The *Slovesa* in general consist of two main parts, an exegetic one of earlier origin and a



*SSP* proposed by Istrin and adopted by Picchio (Russia, 13th c.) can only be held valid for one of its secondary forms.<sup>179</sup> For the rest, Picchio himself, as we have seen, hints at possible South Slavic precursors of *SSP*.<sup>180</sup>

(3) The prehistory<sup>181</sup> of the collections is rooted in the earliest periods (Moravo-Pannonian and Old Bulgarian) of Church Slavic literature.

*SSP*: Some parts of the exegetic section of *SSP* can hail directly from Cyrillo-Methodian times. We have seen that one of their probable sources are the *Slovesa* of Constantine. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that *SSP* in some instances contains traces of Methodius' translation of the Bible (Evseev 1907:165-166).

*PChrP* and *PChrK*: It seems that the point of origin of these collections should be sought in the Discourses of Constantine, translated into Slavic by Methodius (cf. Šaxmatov 1904b); even *PribPal*, which betrays the hand of a Russian editor, seems to go back to a very early period.

*MelSb*, *TMO*: The part of *MelSb* which contains *StorCal-Tolk2* goes back to an Old Bulgarian protograph, according to Veder (1982: 159); the same is claimed for *TMO* which has many elements in common with *MelSb*.

In sum, there are no constraints to believe that the oldest forms of the collections which contain the commented versions of *StorCal* could not go back to a very early (Cyrillo-Methodian) period.

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chronographic one of later origin" ["Словеса в общем состоят из двух главных частей, более ранней по происхождению истолковательной и более поздней хронографической..."] (1907: 165, 162). – We have already seen that Evseev considered *StorCal-Tolk1* – Nr. 2 of the seven Solomonic prophecies of *SSP* – as a doublet of prophecy Nr. 6, also related to Prov 9: 1 sqq. We have also seen that for Evseev this formed the basis, together with the fact that Nr. 2 lacks in one witness (K = Warszawa, Bibl. Krasinskih 408, 16th c.), to believe that the Story of the Chalice did not form part of the original version of *SSP*. – I do not believe that K represents the oldest stage of *SSP*, because not only does it lack prophecy Nr. 2, but Nrs. 3 and 4 as well, which leads to suppose a mechanical defect in the antigraph of K. As to Nr. 2 (*StorCal-Tolk1*) being a doublet exegesis of Prov. 9:1 sqq. to Nr. 6 of the Solomonic dossier, I have already pointed out (cf. note 32 above) that it is doubtful whether Prov 9:1 sqq. can be considered the origin of *StorCal-Tolk1*.

<sup>179</sup> Already Šaxmatov (1904a) had proven that the year 1242 provides not the date of the original of the collection, but that of the antigraph of Kir.Bel. 67/1144 (*inter alia* pointing out that the date is not 1242 but 1234). And recently, the source of the chronographic part of *SSP* was discovered to be older than the *Ellinskij i rimskij letopisec*: Kloss (1972) thinks it was the *Chronograf po velikomu izloženiju*, while Tvorogov (1975: 26) claims that "in *SSP*... some source unknown to us is paraphrased" ["В *SSP* пересказан... какой-то не известный нам источник"]. Consequently, even in this way nothing obliges us to date *SSP* to the 13th c.

<sup>180</sup> "The origins of *Slovesa* were probably connected with the *Tolkovaja Paleja* (...) We don't know how much of the apocryphal material contained in these works [*SSP*, *Paleja*] (...) was added or adapted by the first scribes of the South Slavic *Paleja* (...)" (1985: 148).

<sup>181</sup> It is of primary importance to distinguish the history of our collections (i.e. starting from the time when the oldest known witnesses were written) from their prehistory, i.e. from the time when the elements or the parts that accompanied them circulated in other structural contexts.

## 28. Some Hypotheses on The History and Prehistory of *StorCal*

Neither *StorCal-ES* nor *StorCal-Tolk1* or *StorCal-Tolk2* name Constantine as the translator of the Hebrew inscription or as the author of the commentary. Hence, one might think that it was the author of *VC* (or a subsequent interpolator) who, owing to the liberty granted by the hagiographic genre,<sup>182</sup> attributed the decipherment of the inscription to Constantine.

To this argument *e silentio* in favor of an interpolation (or an error by the author of *VC*), the first and foremost objection is that it is not improbable that Constantine's name was omitted in *StorCal-ES* and in the commented versions:

**a** *StorCal-ES* is inserted in a small dossier of texts on the Passion (or the Eucharistic sacrifice) clearly not concerned with recording their paternity; the name of John Chrysostom is likewise omitted in the title (Προσευχή τῆς κοινωνίας) of the prayer Κύριε οὐκ εἰμι ἄξιος, which in the *Scor.gr.* follows *StorCal-ES*.

**b** *SSP* cites explicitly (but haphazardly) only Biblical quotations, while making use of patristic texts and sources of other sorts.

**c** *TMO* and *MelSb* often indicate the sources of excerpts, but equally often present them as 'anonymous'. Thus, e.g. neither the source of the prophecy of Joash, nor that of Anastasius Sinaita's *Quaestiones* 58-58,142, which in *TMO* (ff.5v-6v) follow *StorCal-Tolk2*, are named.

It is likewise not excluded that the hypothetical Constantinian version of *StorCal* (henceforth *\*StorCal-Const*) circulated anonymously, just as his Story of the discovery of the relics of St Clemens (cf. Nikol'skij 1928: 404) may have circulated anonymously ('tacite nomine suo').<sup>183</sup>

But before all, to confirm the notice of *VC*, a 'positive' argument may be proffered. In fact, the procedure used to demonstrate that the inscription of the Chalice is a prophecy about Christ is quite similar to the one Constantine used in the exegesis of Dan 9:24 ('Seventy weeks of years are decreed concerning your people') during the Khazarian mission (*VC* 10:46).

In both cases, the approach is the same, from the same predilection for computistic argumentation. Like the prophecy of the Chalice, so that of Daniel offers, according to Constantine, a precise indication of the advent of the Messiah; in fact, the formulation '70 weeks of years', if correctly computed – i.e. taking into account that it refers to the year 490 BC (according to the computus of Maximus the Confessor, which Constantine

<sup>182</sup> The hint of Van Esbroeck (1986) that the motif of the 'inscription deciphered' may be a hagiographic topos of the 'conversion legend' merits further research.

<sup>183</sup> This is the formulation in the letter of Anastasius Bibliothecarius to Bishop Gauderic of Velletri. – Nikol'skij's interpretation should not be considered all too certain, because Anastasius' words ("tacito nomine suo" MMFH III: 178) may refer not to the superscription of the opusculum, but to the fact that Constantine, when speaking of the part he himself had in the discovery of the relics of St. Clement, passes over his name in silence.

follows) and calculating one year for every day of the week – is equivalent to  $70 \times 7 = 490$  years, which clearly alludes to the birth of Christ.

The computistic argument also recurs in VC 9:8 ('How many generations are there until Moses, and how many years has each generation lasted?') and in VC 17:12-13 ('Having computed for him all years from Adam on, generation by generation, the Philosopher taught him subtly that [the Christ] had already come'). In both cases, however, the precise data of the computus are omitted.<sup>184</sup>

The confrontation with VC 10:46 could lead to suppose that *\*StorCal-Const* belonged to Constantine's Discourses, from which the author of VC, according to his explicit admission, took the material (probably including the exegesis of Dan 9:24) for the Khazarian chapters.

In such case, the hagiographer would have used not the Greek original, but the Slavic version edited by Methodius (*\*StorCal- Meth*):<sup>185</sup>

НЖЕ ХОЩЕТЕ СЗВРЗШЕНЫХЗ БЕСѢДЗ СЯХЗ СВЯТЫХЗ НСКАТИ · ВЗ КНИГАХЗ ЕГО ОБРАЩЕТЕ ·  
ЕЖЕ ПРЕЛОЖИ ОУЧИТЕЛЬ НАШЬ И АРХИЕПИСКОПЪ МЕФОДІИ · БРАТЪ КОНСТАНТИНА ФИЛО-  
СОФА · РАЗДѢЛИ Е НА ОСМЪ СЛОВЕЦЪ (VC 10: 96; Lavrov 1930: 21).

'Those of you who wish to look for these holy discourses in their entirety, will find them in his books, which our teacher and archbishop Methodius, the brother of Constantine the Philosopher, translated and divided into eight treatises.'

It is not excluded, as we shall see presently, that *StorCal- VC* (=VC 13) could be read as the continuation of the preceding account, i.e. of the Khazarian chapters. But even if this were not so, *StorCal-VC* could still derive from Constantine's *Discourses*: the biographer not having found a way to insert them into chapters 8-11, could have 'invented' the occasion of the 'spiritual retreat' at the end of the mission.<sup>186</sup>

From *\*StorCal-Const*, the various known forms of the Story can be derived – directly or indirectly – without any difficulty:

<sup>184</sup> In the final part of *SSP* (Evseev 1907: 193 sqq.), there is a passage that seems to be the reply to the request of VC 9:8 and the explication of the computus of VC 17:12-13. – Of course, one could maintain the hypothesis of an interpolator by supposing that he worked in full awareness of Constantine's predilection for computistic argumentation. But, to my mind, such an objection would only serve to render even more evident the preconceived character of the interpolationist hypothesis.

<sup>185</sup> On the reasons that could have induced Methodius to translate his brother's anti-Jewish *Discourses*, cf. recently Šašel (1989) with reference to the ethnic and religious situation in Pannonia, reconstructed on the basis of archeological evidence (the interpretation seems to me not reliable).

<sup>186</sup> Since a similar computistic argument is used by Constantine, as we have seen, during his stay in Rome (VC 17:12-13), *StorCal* could also lack any relation with the Khazarian mission. In such case, the notice [Narr] of *StorCal-VC*, according to which Constantine interpreted the inscription upon his return from the Khazarian mission, should be taken literally, unless it could be demonstrated that even the account of VC 17: 12-13 hails from Constantine's *Slovesa*, which the hagiographer exploited freely at any occasion.

**a** *StorCal-ES* would have been modeled directly on *\*StorCal-Const* (through a number of intermediate stages not readily established).

*\*StorCal-Const* could also be thought to have been preceded by the simple translation of the inscription (*\*IscrCal-Gr*). Only at the subsequent stage (*\*StorCal-Const*) would it have been interpreted as a messianic prophecy. This would provide a better explanation for the fact that *StorCal-ES*, which contains [IV] and a commentary, has the aspect of a paraliturgical prayer rather than an Old Testament prophecy. It would be more difficult to envisage the reverse evolution, i.e. from Old Testament prophecy to Easter troparion.

**b** *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-Tolk1* would be independently derived from the Slavic version of Constantine's text, edited by Methodius (*\*StorCal-Meth*).

While *StorCal-VC* adapted [Narr] of *\*StorCal-Meth* to the hagiographic account and completely eliminated [Tolk], *StorCal-Tolk1* probably faithfully reproduces *\*StorCal-Meth*.

The mariological motifs form no argument to dissociate the text from Constantine. The homily *De nativitate B.V. Mariae*, inc. ВѢКЪ ЧЛОВѢКЪ ХОТѦ ПОХВАЛНѦ (Petrovskij 1902), of which the ascription to Constantine was recently upheld by Turilov 1985 (on valid grounds), quotes the same verse from Luke (1:48 'Behold, henceforth all generations will call me blessed') used in *StorCal-Tolk1* (cf. note 39 above).

The trinitarian motif of *StorCal-Tolk1* ('The chalice was made of three parts, with three faces, in the image of the Trinity', cf. note 35 above) interlocks with another trinitarian motif of *VC* (cf. the dispute with the Saracens):

СЛЫШИШИ ЛИ · ФІЛОСОФЕ · ЧТО ГЛАГОЛЮТЬ СКВѢРНЫИИ АГАРАНЕ НА НАШОУ ВѢРОУ ·  
ДА ІАКОЖЕ ЕСИ СВЯТЫА ТРОИЦА СЛОУГА И ОУЧЕНИКЪ · ШЕДЪ ПРОТНВН СѦ НМЪ · И БОГЪ  
· СВЪРШИТЕЛЪ ВСѦКОН ВѢЩН · СЛОВОСЛОВНЫИ ВЪ ТРОИЦИ ОТЬЦЪ И СЫНЪ И СВЯТЫИ  
ДОУХЪ · ТЪ ДА ТИ ПОДАСТЪ БЛАГОДАТЬ И СИЛОУ ВЪ СЛОВЕСѢХЪ · И ІАКО ДРОУГАГО  
ДАВНДА НОВАГО · ІАВНТЬ НА ГѢЛІАДА · С ТРЕМН КАМЕНЬМН ПОБѢЖДЫША. (VC 6: 5-6;  
Lavrov 1930: 7).

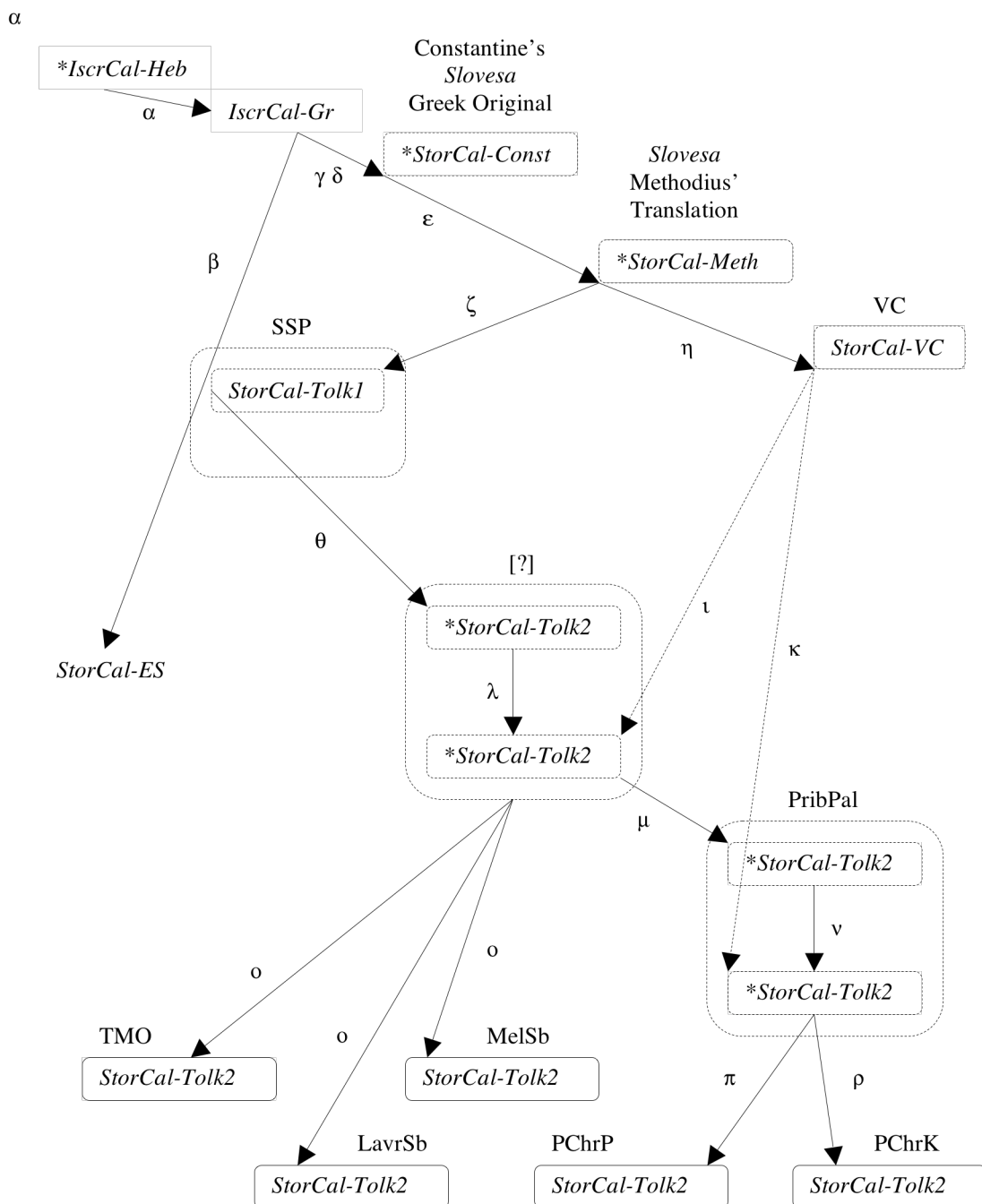
'Do you hear, Philosopher, what the vile Hagarenes say against our faith? Since you are the servant and the disciple of the holy Trinity, go [and] confront them, and may God, who makes everything perfect and who is glorified in the Trinity as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, grant you grace and strength in words and manifest you against Goliath as another new David, victorious with three stones.'

Like the three faces of the chalice are the image of the Trinity, so do David's stones, which are five in the Biblical account (1 Kg 17:40) but become three in *VC*, symbolize Constantine-David's victory over the antitrinitarian Saracens.

**c** *StorCal-Tolk2* (the oldest form of which perhaps is that which makes no mention of Saint Sophia) seems to be derived from *StorCal-Tolk1*.

That *StorCal-Tolk2* cannot function as a link between *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-Tolk1* is demonstrated by the rare (but precious)<sup>187</sup> cases of agreement between *Stor*

<sup>187</sup> One example may suffice: сѣ естъ пророчѣство о хрѣстѣ *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-Tolk1*,

Fig. 3: The Hebrew, Greek and Slavic Tradition of *StorCal*.

## Notes to Fig. 3

In Fig. 3, a frame within a frame indicates a part of the textual tradition of the given collection of texts or author's text. The figure does not distinguish strong reconstructive hypotheses (e.g. ε η π ρ) from weak ones (e.g. θ μ), but this can be remedied by adding to the following notes the relative data from 28-29. It also excludes many problems related to *SSP*: even if the short version of *StorCal-Tolk1* (cf. note 13 above) can readily be inserted into the frame of the total, the systematic study of the various witnesses of the collection may have important consequences for the entire *Filiations-frage*.

**a.** Addition of [Tit] at the beginning of [Inscr]. — *NB.* This title can be identified with that of *StorCal-ES*. Instead of the κρατήρ of its [Inscr], this would certainly have read ποτήριον (confirmed by \**StorCal-Meth*, cf. ποτήρις in [Narr] of *StorCal-VC* and *StorCal-Tolk1*), which makes explicit the reference to Christ (ποτήριον in the NT refers to Christ's chalice, κρατήρ is unknown in the NT); ἐπίγραμμα ('inscription'?) in *StorCal-ES* is less readily explained, but should be compared to ΠΑΔΠΗΣ ('inscription') in the — clearly secondary — title in *PChrK*.

**β.** Elimination of [IIa], [IIIab] and [IV]. — *NB.* The innovation β could also stem from \**StorCal-Const*, in which case \**InscrCal-Gr* should be eliminated.

**γ.** Transformation of [Inscr] (Easter troparion?) in a Solomonic prophecy and subsequent addition of either [Razč] or [Tolk] with its (1) christological, (2) mariological and (3) trinitarian components. — *NB.* The elements γ2 and γ3 (and perhaps also δ) could be placed on the line \**StorCal-Meth* → *StorCal-Tolk1*, in which case *StorCal-Tolk2* (devoid of γ2 and γ3) would depend directly from \**StorCal-Meth*.

**δ.** Substitution of the simple title by an amplified narrative frame, to be identified with [Narr<sup>1</sup>] of *StorCal-Tolk1*.

**ε.** ζ. Faithful reproduction of the original, certain in case ε, less certain in ζ.

**η.** Adaptation to the new hagiographic context: simplification of [Narr], mention of Constantine as decipherer (less clearly as translator and interpreter) of the inscription, elimination of [Tolk] but retention of [Razč].

**θ.** Reduction of [Tolk] to the single element γ1. *NB.* The necessity to suppose a precise surgical intervention (complete elimination of γ2 and γ3, retention of γ1) leads to major suspicion of the transition *StorCal-Tolk1* → *StorCal-Tolk2*.

**ι.** λ. Adaptation of [Narr] on the basis of *StorCal-VC*: mention of Saint Sophia, but not of Constantine.

**κ.** v. The note about Constantine, derived from *StorCal-VC*, is placed (together with [Vlad], cf. Fig. 1) in the margin of the Chalice Story, previously inserted in *PribPal* in the form *StorCal-Tolk2*.

**ο.** The passage from *StorCal-Tolk2* [?] to *StorCal-Tolk2* [TMO], [MelSb], [LavrSb] could, in reality, have been more complex than the scheme indicates. *StorCal-Tolk* [?] on the one hand, and *TMO*, *MelSb*, *LavrSb* on the other, could possibly be separated by several intermediate stages, characterized by changes in the structure of the collections rather than in the Story itself (which seems to remain the same in all cases).

**π.** Placement of the notes about Constantine and Vladimir at the end of the Story.

**ρ.** Expansion of [Narr] with the list of precious stones, other slight additions and modifications in [Tolk] (notes on the three languages etc.).

*Cal-Tolk1* and *Stor Cal-VC* against *StorCal-Tolk2*.

Since the narrative frame of *StorCal-Tolk2* equals – save the omission of the mention of Constantine – that of *StorCal-VC* (made *ad hoc* for that version), the editor of *StorCal-Tolk2* must be supposed to have had recourse to *StorCal-VC* as well.<sup>188</sup>

The mention of Constantine in the ‘chronographic’ witnesses (*PChrP* and *PChrK*) must also be considered the result of contamination: the editor (or reader) of *PribPal* culled from *StorCal-VC* the note on Constantine’s role in the recognition of the chalice and glossed it with a reference to the legend of his mission to Rus’ in the time of Vladimir; this note, in one branch of the tradition (*PChrP*), was incorporated in [Narr], while in the other (*PChrK*), it was placed at the end of the account.

## 29. The Passage from \*IscrCal-Heb to \*StorCal-Const

A final question that must be addressed, is that of the relationship of \**StorCal-Const* to the Hebrew original (\**IscrCal-Heb*) of the inscription, i.e. that of the modifications made (even unintentionally) by the interpreter in its Hebrew text.

The problem concerns both the tripartition of the text ([I]-[III]) and its final number ([IV]).

In fact, the actual segmentation in three pairs of hemistichs, concomitant with tripartite exegetic models (e.g. nativity, passion and death), might not coincide with the Hebrew author’s intention, but simply reflect their disposition on the chalice (in three separate lines).

In the same way, the final number might be the translator’s invention, i.e. his gematric assignment of a numeric value to a sequence of letters at the end of [I]-[III].<sup>189</sup>

But in order to make this hypothesis fully plausible, it would be necessary to discover the meaning and the function, in \**IscrCal-Heb*, of the supposed final word, the consonant skeleton of which seems to be *yqyt*.

Thus, the synchronization ‘twelfth year of Solomon’ = ‘1019 A.D.’ and the related insertion of the inscription into anti-Jewish polemical literature would be the work not of the author of the inscription, but of the translator.

These hesitations are reinforced by the difficulty – not readily overcome – of relating to the chalice not only the two imperatives of [Ia] and [Ib] (ΠΡΟΡΗ-ЦАН, ВЪ ПИВО БЖДН), but those of [IIb] (ΠΗΗ Η ΟΥΠΗΗ ΣΑ) as well.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, it is possible to establish a hypothesis as to the segmentation and the destination of the original Hebrew inscription.

<sup>188</sup> The cases in which *StorCal-Tolk2* agrees either with *StorCal-Tolk1* or with *StorCal-VC* need not be separately documented here, because they are evident at first reading.

<sup>189</sup> Or, as in the case of *StorCal-Tolk1*, on the bottom of the chalice: ВЪ ТОМЖЕ ЧАШН ПОСРЕДН ЕА ДНА НАПИСАНА ЧИСЛА ‘in this very chalice, in the middle of its bottom, are written the [following] numbers’.

For the ‘restitution’ of the original sense, two Biblical allusions seem to be decisive, i.e. in the first hemistich to 2 Pet 1:19:

καὶ ἔχομεν βεβαιότερον τὸ προφητικὸν λόγον, ᾧ καλῶς ποιεῖτε προσέχοντες ὡς λύχνῳ φαίνοντι ἐν ἀύχμηρῳ τόπῳ, ἕως οὗ ἡμέρα διανύσῃ καὶ φωσφόρος ἀνατείλῃ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν.

‘And we have the prophetic word made more sure. You will do well to pay attention to this as to a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawns and the morning star rises in your hearts.’

and in the second hemistich to Col 1:18 and Mk 16: 6

[Col 1: 15.18] Ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως (...) ὃς ἔστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.

‘He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation (...) He is the beginning, the first-born from the dead.’

[Mc 16: 2.5-6] Καὶ λίαν πρῶτὴ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου (...) Καὶ εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον εἶδον νεανίσκον (...) Ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς· Μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε. Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρητὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε.

‘And very early on the first day of the week they went to the tomb when the sun had risen (...) And entering the tomb, they saw a young man (...) And he said to them, “Do not be amazed; you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He has risen, he is not here.”’

The ‘prophetic word’ of Peter perhaps alludes generically to the Holy Scripture or more specifically, as is commonly believed, to the Biblical prophecies concerning the *parousia* of the Messiah; the ‘first-born’ of Paul alludes to the Resurrection, referring to Christ not as the ‘first-born of the Father’ but as the ‘first to be (re)generated to new life.’

Against this background, the inscription – regardless of its appearance as a Messianic prophecy – acquires the characteristic traits of an Easter troparion.<sup>190</sup>

As to the formal structure of this supposed troparion, it might be considered to consist in two long verses, one addressed to the chalice, the other to the person officiating (or, more generally, to those participating in the eucharistic sacrifice):

[I]-[IIa] *Addressed to the chalice*

[Ia] My chalice, my chalice, be a prophecy until the star rises.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>190</sup> In note 69 above, I have already pointed out that it was Nello Casalini o.f.m., professor of Biblical and theological exegesis at the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* at Jerusalem, who drew my attention to the NT passages quoted. I also owe to him the idea, which I accept as an interesting working hypothesis, that the pseudo-Solomonic inscription was not originally a Messianic oracle, but ‘an augury pronounced over the eucharistic chalice in the night of Easter in expectation of the Resurrection’ (letter of 26 June 1990).

<sup>191</sup> I.e. a prophecy of (the coming, the death and) the Resurrection of the Messiah; the prophecy



[Ib) Be for drink to the Lord, the First-born who wakes at night.

[IIa] Made to the partaking of the Lord, from the other wood<sup>192</sup>

[IIb]-[IIIb] *Addressed to the officiant*

[IIb] Drink, and enebriate yourself with joy, and exclaim: Hallelujah.

[IIIa] The Prince, and the entire assembly shall see His glory.

[IIIb] And King David is in the midst of them.

If this can be considered the original sense of *\*IscrCal-Heb*, it still remains unclear whether it was initially conceived as an inscription on a eucharistic chalice,<sup>193</sup> or whether it was initially conceived as an Easter troparion, subsequently attributed to Solomon (and, consequently, perceived as a messianic prophecy)<sup>194</sup> and also came to be used outside of liturgical contexts.

If the latter hypothesis can be confirmed, the passage from the hypothetical troparion to Constantine's computistic exegesis could be envisaged as an episode in the genesis of the Christian legend.

## VIII. THE PLACE OF *StorCal* IN VC

### 30. *The Thesis of a Diptych*

In segmenting a text (or a part of it), one can pursue widely varying aims. E.g. in dividing *StorCal-VC* into three segments – [Narr], [Inscr], [Razč] – I merely aimed to facilitate the comparison with the other witnesses of *StorCal*.

But the segmentation of a text can also have more ambitious aims. For instance, one can try to reconstitute its internal articulation in relation to the *Kunstwollen* of a particular author or, more generally, on the basis of the principles of poetics he shared (whether inherited from tradition or innovated).

It is evident that the question of segmentation, put in such terms, is the fo-

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that can be trusted until the Lord (the Bringer of light, the Morning star) will rise (again). – I am not in a position to specify whether the stress here is on the eschatological *parousia* (or, more definitely, on the day of Judgment) following 2 Pet 1:19, or on the historical Resurrection following Mk 16:6.

<sup>192</sup> For the interpretation of this difficult verse, cf. note 143 above. – *Pace* Taube who, under the influence of Picchio's emendation, interprets ΔΡΕΒΟ ΗΝΘ as 'lignum unum' (with ΗΝΖ = 'one') by reference to Ez 37:19 not in the Sept but in the Vulg version (*et faciam in lignum unum*), the passage is, in fact attested in Sept (ράβδος μία), and its ράβδος has been translated, at least in one case, as ΔΡΕΒΟ (Ostr. Bibl.).

<sup>193</sup> It could have been considered 'Solomonic' at the time, or the attribution of the chalice and the inscription to Solomon could have occurred later.

<sup>194</sup> The attribution to one of the 'messianic' prophets of the OT (Solomon, Zephaniah, David, Elijah etc.) could have originated from the mention of 'prophecy' (προφήτευσον, προφητεία) in line [Ia], and the preference for Solomon could have originated from the mention of 'chalice' (κρατήρ) by reference to Prov 9:2.

cus of many fundamental questions of history of literature, not only in relation to the text itself, but also in more or less broad relation to the literary corpus to which it belongs.

Picchio's claim that ch. 13 occupies a central position in VC is the reversal of the idea he expressed earlier (1960: 80), i.e. that VC 13 represents a pause in the narrative texture of the *Vita*.

It is curious that Picchio returns to this earlier idea even in 1985 ("This short chapter represents a sort of pause in the narrative texture" 1985: 150) without, however, explaining how this can be reconciled with his new idea (i.e. that ch. 13 forms "the key-stone of this hagiographic construction" 1985: 151).<sup>195</sup>

The principle which Picchio applies in his most recent segmentation is, as we know, that of the occurrence of one or more Biblical quotations which function as "thematic clues" at the beginning of a text or of one of its parts.

Since, according to Picchio, Biblical quotations that can be qualified as "thematic clues" are present not only at the beginning of VC, but also in ch. 13, this implies a bipartition of the text: VC 1-12, VC 13-18.

In the preceding pages, we have seen that the thesis of a diptych seems unacceptable on technical grounds: the so-called Biblical quotations of [III] are not true and proper quotations and, moreover, the text of [III] was already contained in the Greek original.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that the diptych imagined by Picchio is not solidly founded either on principles of poetics historically defined,<sup>196</sup> or on explicit signals within or without the text.<sup>197</sup> Picchio's all too subjective segmentation does not have the value of the 'objective' bipartition, witnessed by some manuscripts (e.g. Buc-135) which mark both VC 1 and VC 14 by initials (three lines high).

### **31. The Segmentation of VC in Five 'Instalments' ('Lessons', 'čtenija'), Witnessed by The Earliest Manuscripts**

From the point of view of historical poetics, the *Vita Constantini* can, to my mind, most conveniently be segmented in five 'instalments'.

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<sup>195</sup> It may be supposed that in the two contexts (Picchio 1960 and Picchio 1985) the term "pause" is used in two different senses. In the absence of any further specification by the author, it is unclear what the difference may be.

<sup>196</sup> Over the long period of the 9–14th centuries, within the range of Byzantine-Slavic hagiographico-homiletic literature, I know of no text which presents a structure similar to that postulated for VC by Picchio..

<sup>197</sup> I refer to linguistic signals of the type used by Jakobson (cf. e.g. the long quotation at the end of §32 below) to support his segmentation proposal (cf. note 196 below) or to explicit indications furnished by the copyists (e.g. rubrics).

The term ‘instalment’ – a type of segmentation rather frequent in ‘modern’ systems of esthetic communication (from the 18th-century *feuilleton* novel<sup>198</sup> to the television serial) – seems out of place and anachronistic by reference to the segmentation of a Church Slavic hagiographic text like *VC*. But upon closer consideration, the practice of reading a text in ‘instalments’ according to a definite ritual schedule certainly antedates modern times. It came into being in the centuries when Byzantine poetics was formed, to the point that it brought within its orbit text inherited from preceding periods and patterned after different principles of poetics,<sup>199</sup> and it certainly was in full vigour even at the end of the 9th century (the time when *VC* was supposedly composed).

The five instalments – or ‘lessons’ (*čtenija*), to use the technical term of the hagiographico-homiletic genre – into which *VC* can be segmented, are the following:<sup>200</sup>

(1) [Ch. 1-5, 159 lines] Constantine's early life, his arrival at Constantinople, studies, rejection of a court career, retreat to a monastery, and his first important dialectic exploit – the dispute with the iconoclast patriarch John VII.

(2) [Ch. 6-7, 106 lines] Another exploit of Constantine – his mission to the Arabs.

(3) [Ch. 8-13, 410 lines] Constantine's mission to the Khazars (ch. 8-11), his return voyage (ch. 12), spiritual retreat and decipherment of the (pseudo-)Solomonic inscription (ch. 13).

(4) [Ch. 14-15, 106 lines] The Moravian mission, accomplished by both Constantine and Methodius.

(5) [Ch. 16-18, 165 lines] Voyage to Rome, stay at Venice and dispute with the supporters of the trilingual heresy, honors at Rome and death.

### 32. *Is The Segmentation of VC in Five ‘Lessons’ Ancient?*

The principle of the segmentation of the text in ‘instalments’ can be considered not only as a *principle of reading*, i.e. active on the level of performance of the text (and, therefore, subject to modification in time), but also as a *principle of composition*.

It is fair to state right away that *VC* seems to lack explicit signals (within the text) that give credit to the segmentation in five lessons as a principle of composition. It can only be stated, by comparison to other current segmenta-

<sup>198</sup> Since Eugene Sue's *Secrets of Paris*, the star of the serial has risen high. Even the works of great writers (e.g. Dostoevskij) have been written and published in serial form.

<sup>199</sup> A look into a *Typikon* is enough to become aware of this. Cf. e.g. the reading of the Gospel by ‘pericopes’ or that of the Psalter by ‘kathismata’.

<sup>200</sup> I refer both to the chapter division used in modern editions of *VC* and to the number of lines of text in order to give an idea of the (quantitative) relationships of the separate ‘lessons’.

tions (like, e.g. Jakobson's highly refined<sup>201</sup> proposal), that it has the advantage of being the oldest segmentation documented.<sup>202</sup> This, however, does not mean that it can be projected back to the 9–10th century without further verification (not easily given, but nevertheless not impossible).

At present – to limit myself to the most important question here – the only thing to be stated with confidence, is that the aggregation of VC 13 with VC 8–12, or rather the separation between VC 13 and VC 14, appears to be very old. Indeed, the troparion of the *Office for Constantine (SlužbKir)*, concordantly dated by scholars to the 9th century, associates the motif of the *секрыра* (VC 12) to that of the lips laid to the *чаша* (VC 13) of wisdom:<sup>203</sup>

ВЗ ЧАШН ПРЪМОУДРОСТН БОЖЬСТВЪНЪН ТН ОУСТЫНЪ ПРЕЛОЖЬ · НАПНТА СѦ СЪПАСЕНАДОГО  
ПНТАНЬСТВА · РАЗОУМЪМЪ ЖЕ СВѢТЪ СѦ ІАВН АЗЫКОМЪ Н СЪКЫРА · ПОСЪБАЮЩН НЕПРНТА-  
ЗНННЪ ВЪСАКОУ ЛЬСТЬ. (*SlužbKir*, ed. Lavrov 1930: 108).

‘Having laid your lips to the cup of divine wisdom, you have imbued yourself with the enebriation of salvation. By your intelligence, you have revealed yourself a light to the heathen and an axe which cuts all temptations of the devil.’

Of course, one must not fall into the temptation to consider certain proof what is only a vague indication.<sup>204</sup> The preference given to the segmentation ‘in five lessons’ – above the refined segmentation of Jakobson or the, equally sophisticated, segmentation of Picchio – should be viewed only as an indication

<sup>201</sup> “Verses introduce in the *Vita* the three most important phases of Constantine’s spiritual career: the beginning of his ascetic life, his culminating act – the enlightenment of the Slavs and, finally, the deliverance from the worries of the world” [“Стихами введены в житии три важнейших фазы в духовном пути Константина: начало его подвижничества, вершинное деяние – просвещение славян, и наконец освобождение от мирских тревог”] (Jakobson 1957: 282).

<sup>202</sup> It is, indeed, explicitly, if imperfectly, attested by the two oldest mss of VC (MDA-19 and Bars-619): MDA-19 explicitly marks only lessons 3–5; Bars-619 marks the same, but the beginning of lesson 2 falls in the lacuna between f. 251 and f. 252. The segmentation in five ‘lessons’ is complete in Und-161.

<sup>203</sup> To my knowledge, the first to note the relationship of the troparion to VC 13 was Gošev (1938:105). Cf. also Nichoritis (1990:96).

<sup>204</sup> The motifs of the *секрыра* and the lips laid to the cup of wisdom are two *topoi*, which recur e.g. in the offices (*akoluthiai*, *služby*) for Gregory of Nyssa: *преподобне отче · всечестне Грнгорне · секрыра секоушата* (*Služ. Min.*, Jan. 10), and for Gregory of Nazianzus: *к премоудрости чашн прѣблнжнвз честнаѧ твоя оуста · отче Грнгорне* (*Služ. Min.*, Jan. 25). – The fact that both motifs can be *topoi* does not discredit my assumption: the association of both (to my knowledge, not otherwise attested in the Byzantino-Slavic area) in *SlužbKir* (in inverse sequence by comparison to VC) seems to confirm the impression that they were used to present the ‘real’ case of Constantine as evangelizer and philosopher. The use of *topoi* to describe Constantine’s individual career, which has all too often disoriented the researchers of VC, inducing them, *inter alia*, to negate its historical value, is a feature of hagiographico-homiletic poetics in the Middle Ages.

of method. The troparion of the *SlužbKir* can serve as an example of the way to follow: if the aim is, indeed, to reconstitute the original segmentation of VC,<sup>205</sup> the best way to proceed is to systematically recuperate all evidence relative to that goal,<sup>206</sup> internal and external, largely obscured by the superimposition of subsequent segmentations, and to retrace their historical succession without recourse to the caprices, the fantasy and the cominatory faculties of the modern reader, who operates with modern sensibility and conceptual categories.

This does not mean that scholars with a fine historical poetic sensibility and a definite historical linguistic culture cannot hit the mark. This is the case in VC 13, of which R. Jakobson has well – or, rather, as we have just seen, in the spirit of the author of *SlužbKir* – grasped the connections with VC 12:

“The exhortation of the Inscription – *ΠΡΟΡΗΪΑΝ ΔΟΝΒΔΕΞΕ ΣΒΕΖΔΔ*<sup>207</sup> – echoes the prophecy which Constantine, returning to Constantinople, made at nightfall on the imminent death of the archbishop of Kherson, as well as the verse of a christological nature (Isaiah 66:18), which Constantine quotes in his subsequent sermon (VC 12): *ГЛАДѦ ΔΖΖ СЗБѢРАТИ ВЪСѢ ПΛΕΜΕΝΑ Η ΒΥΣΑΛ ΖΥΙΚΥ Η ΠΡΗΗΔΑΤΖ Η ΟΥΖΒΡΑΤΖ СЛАВѦ МОИѦ*<sup>208</sup> has a surprising reply in the final verse of the inscription: *Η ΟΥΖΒΡΑΤΖ ΒΥΣΒ СЗНЬМΖ СЛАВѦ ΕΓΟ*. (...) Among the details which associate the account of VC of Constantine the Philosopher’s voyage to Constantinople with the text of the Inscription, the interesting correspondence should be noted between the number of blows of the axe – 33 – given by Constantine to the tree of the tree-worshippers (VC 12:22) and the mysterious number – 909 or 990 – which can be read at the end of the verses on the chalice, i.e. the correspondence between the two threes

<sup>205</sup> A nihilistic attitude towards this task is unjustified. Those afraid to venture into conjectures or to explain the evolution of a text “would do better to deal only with autographs” (cf. Maas 1984:23).

<sup>206</sup> As concerns the study of the punctuation and the rubrics (or otherwise marked letters), so neglected in the research of the segmentation (as object of historical poetics) of medieval texts, I should like to refer to the experiment I myself made (Capaldo 1984: 10-11) in analyzing the periods of the homily *Δαυὶδ μὲν ὁ βασιλεύς* (BHG<sup>3</sup> 1893v). In my monograph on the homiletics of John the Exarch (in preparation for many years now, and still not soon to be published), this analysis has been complemented by the data of Patm. 380, which makes it necessary to correct the analysis of 1984 (by adding three more periods: *cola* 94-95, 105-109 and 110- 113), but above all to specify the function of the *clausula* of the final *colon* of the separate periods and to extend it to the Slavic translation of the homily.

<sup>207</sup> My interpretation of these words of the inscription (cf. note 187 above) weakens the comparison made by Jakobson (based on the idea that it concerns an ‘evening’ star like that of VC 12) only in appearance. It must be borne in mind that the original sense of the inscription is one thing, while that which Constantine gave it may have been another, and yet another the associations which could have risen in the mind of the hagiographer. It is to the latter that Jakobson’s observation refers, to be complemented by the observation that the *ΗΝΟ ΔΡΕΒΟ* of the inscription could be opposed to the *ΔΡΕΒΟ* which Constantine felled and burned at the end of ch. 12.

<sup>208</sup> ‘I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory.’

and the two nines” (Jakobson 1970:359).

## IX. CONCLUSIONS

### 33. (Positive and Negative) Results of The Analysis

At the close of these pages – again following our five-pronged model – the results of the inquiry can be summarized as follows:

**A** *The problem of the text:* In line [III] of the inscription, there is nothing to be emendated. It contains, like the rest of the inscription, various elements of Biblical diction (ΠΡΟΡΗΪΑΝ ΔΟΝΔΕΪΚΗ ΣΒΕΪΖΔΑ, ΔΑΒΥΔΣ ΠΟΨΕΔΕ ΗΧΖ, etc.). Particularly, the hemistich [IIIb] does not offer a direct quotation (and even less a quotation inserted by the hagiographer), but – perhaps – an allusion to Ezekiel (already present in the source). The most interesting philological problem of the textual tradition of *StorCal* (which escaped Picchio’s attention) lies in the numerical part of the inscription.

**B** *The problem of the rhythm:* We have seen the action of three hypotheses: that [Inscr] should be read as syllabic poetry (Jakobson), that it is simple prose (Ševčenko), or that it constitutes – together with the rest of VC 13 – an isocolic sequence. The latter claim must be denied without further ado, because it makes use – unmethodically – of *ad hoc* interventions in the *textus traditus*. Following a suggestion of Stender-Petersen, we have seen that the Greek version of the inscription can be analyzed as a troparion.

**C-D** *The question of the Greek original and the relationship of the Slavic witnesses:* The idea that *StorCal-TolkI* derives from *StorCal-VC* must be categorically rejected, like the idea that the latter underwent the secondary influence of the commented versions. Both *StorCal-TolkI* and *StorCal-VC* seem to go back independently to one common source, i.e. the Methodian version (*\*StorCal-Meth*) of Constantine’s Greek original (*\*StorCal-Const*).<sup>209</sup> From *\*StorCal-Const* – or perhaps from *\*InscrCal-Gr* (the nucleus of *\*StorCal-Const*, which may go back to Constantine as well) – was derived *StorCal-Es*, which omits certain parts of the inscription.

**E** *The place of StorCal in VC:* *StorCal-VC* bears the clear marks of edition in a hagiographic vein of a text which was originally situated at the intersection of two different literary currents: the Judeo-Christian, inspired by the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Solomon, and the polemic anti-

<sup>209</sup> As we have seen, *\*StorCal-Const* can have formed part of Constantine’s anti-Jewish polemic Discourses (lovgoi, slovesa), recorded in the account of the Khazarian mission and, according to the biographer, translated by Methodius into Slavic.

Jewish, rooted essentially in the messianic (Christian) prophecies of the OT.<sup>210</sup> In the transmission history of *VC* there are signs of a bipartition, based – like that proposed by Picchio – of the distinction of a first part (ch. 1–13) devoted to the activity of Constantine before the Moravian mission, and a second part (ch. 14–18) devoted to the mission among the Slavs; but the variant bipartite structure proposed by Picchio (with *VC* 13 as the prologue to the second part) seems to lack any philological, or documentary, or historical poetic basis. Anterior to the bipartite segmentation seems to be a segmentation of the text in five ‘lessons’ (‘čtenija’). Certainly old, in any case, must be considered the association of *VC* 13 with the preceding chapter.

#### 34. *A Final Reflection in The Margin of The Epigraph at The Start of This Discussion*

The discussion which reaches its conclusion here can well be summarized – in its technical and methodological aspects – in the words of a grand master of textual criticism:

It must be concluded that a corruption which remains undetected does more harm than a conjecture which unjustly attacks an incorrupt text, because every conjecture stimulates refutation which – whatever its result – improves the comprehension of the passage, while the undetected corruption compromises the comprehension of the text *or damages the general stylistic effect* (cf. Maas 1927:17 [1958:19]).<sup>211</sup>

Indeed, on the one hand, Picchio’s construction is to be considered an unjust attack on an incorrupt text; on the other hand, the verification which this attack calls for, by proposing to return to the *textus traditus*, has improved the comprehension of the latter. ‘Much worse’ (to use Maas’ words) is that the true weak point of the entire textual tradition of *StorCal* – line [IV] of the inscription – has escaped Picchio’s attention.

Great benefit for the comprehension of texts from the past can be derived from the dialectic oscillation between two opposite attitudes: the defense of the rationality of the *textus traditus* even if it seems to present difficulties and – conversely – the suspicion that even easy passages may be the result of corruptions. Each philologist must cultivate within himself – and in equal measure – both caution towards an apparently discouraging *textus traditus*, and courage to

<sup>210</sup> It could also be supposed, as I am inclined to believe, that the two branches were independent and that the second was superimposed on the first.

<sup>211</sup> I could not resist giving my own translation (which goes back to my high school years) of one of the many hidden gems of P. Maas’ famous *Textkritik*. This translation, of course, is much freer than that which the English translator (1958) could reasonably give (*natürlich* ‘it must be concluded,’ *jedenfalls* ‘whatever the result,’ with the passage in italics added on the basis of the context), but it seems to me that it absolutely faithfully renders the substance of Maas’ thought.

audacious conjectures.

Thus, these pages, so critical towards Picchio's construction, are at the same time a recognition of his courage in conjecture.

Nevertheless it is also true that, in this discussion, the respect for the data of the tradition and the reasons of historical poetics had to confront an attitude all too inclined to brilliant formal tricks and the iron principles of theoretical poetics.

If further, in addition to the dissension on method, as respectful as it is radical, these pages have also contributed to the awareness that every venture into conjecture must be founded upon profound and extensive groundwork, then they have brought to the surface my most intimate philological credo: the rejection of any wilful manipulation of the surface data of a textual tradition, or – if the idea is to be expressed positively – the untiring search for the buried data.

This attitude – so strictly philological – towards the 'words of the past' presupposes a scrupulousness in comparisons which I am not afraid to qualify as pious. Once established in 'truth', they are like a 'sentence of an oracle' (Nietzsche), which, in order to be understood, requires intense and fearful care both of the present and the future, but then helps those who hear it to better orient themselves in the world.

As to the conjectural elements so copiously present on these pages as well, it is highly probable (and desirable) that Maas' motto will induce the reader to verify the body of data presented and discussed here. And if finally, by a bizarre quirk of fate, it should prove necessary to return to the theses rejected here, I have the hope that this can only be done, after substantiation, with a more rigorous argumentation.



## ABBREVIATIONS

(TEXTS, REPERTORIES, DICTIONARIES AND MANUSCRIPTS)

- Bars. 619 Moskva, GIM Sobr. Barsova № 619, 15th c. Edition: *Žitija Kirilla i Mefodija* 1986.
- BHG<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, I-III. Troisième édition mise à jour et considérablement augmentée par F. Halkin. Bruxelles 1957.
- Buc-135 Bucarest, Bibl. Acad. № 135, 15-16th c., ff. 128-153 [*Vita Constantini*]. Microfilm: Sofia, Archive BAN.
- ES *Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Σολομῶντος*. Edition: Ševčenko 1967.
- Euch. Sin. *Euchologium sinaiticum*. — Edition: Nahtigal 1942.
- Ev. Nic. *Evangelium Nicodemi*. — Edition of Latin and Slavonic text: Vaillant 1968.
- G Zagreb, JAZU III a 47, 15th c. (1469). Edition: Angelov-Kodov 1973.
- Hamart. *Xronika Georgija Amartola*. Edition: Istrin 1920–1930.
- Hil-444 Hilandar, Man. № 444, 16th c. Edition: Grivec-Tomšič 1960.
- Hop. Hopovo, Man. Panegyricum of 1598, destroyed in WW II, ff. 305-331 [*Vita Constantini*]. Microfilm: Sofia, Archive BAN.
- Izb. 1073 g. *Izbornik 1073 goda*. Edition: *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 goda. Faksimil'noe izdanie*. Pod redakcij L.P. Žukovskoj. Moskva 1983.
- LavrSb *Lavrentevijat Sbornik* [Leningrad, GPB F.I.376, 16th c.]. Edition: Kuev 1981.
- MelSb *Meleckij Sbornik* [Kiev, CBAN Mel. mon. 119, 16th c.]. Bibl.: Veder 1982.
- Ostr. Bibl. БҢБЛІА СРҢБҢ КННГН ВҢТХАГО Н НОВАГО ЗАВҢТА ПО РАЗЫКОВ СЛОВЕНКѢ. Ostrog 1581 [*Ostrožskaja Biblija*; repr. Moskva-Leningrad 1988].
- PChrP *Paleja Xronografičeskaja Polnaja*. Partial edition: *Tolkovaja Paleja* 1892.
- PChrK *Paleja Xronografičeskaja Kratkaja*. Bibl.: Tvorogov 1989.
- Petr.-8 L'vov, LBAN Petrus. 8, 16th c., ff. 173-196 [*Vita Constantini*]. Microfilm: Sofia, Archive BAN.
- PG J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, Voll. 1-161. Parisiis 1857-1866.
- Pog. 957 Leningrad, GPB Sobr. Pogodina № 957, 16–17th c., ff. 393-410 [*Vita Constantini*].
- PribPal *Pribavlenie k Palee*. Bibl.: Tvorogov 1975.
- Ps. Sin. *Psalterium Sinaiticum*. Edition: *Sinajskaja psaltr', glagoličeskij pamjatnik XI veka*. Prigotovil k pečati S. Sever'janov. Petrograd 1922.
- Rom. Mel. Ρωμανὸς ὁ Μελωδός. Edition: *Romanos le Melode: Hymnes*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. Grosdidier de Matons, Tomes I-V, Paris 1964-1981.
- Sav. *Savvina kniga*. Edition: *Savvina kniga*. Trud V. Ščepkina. SPb 1903 (= Pamjatniki staroslavjanskago jazyka, I/2).
- Sept. *Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* edidit A. Rahlfs, Voll. I-II. Editio nona. Stuttgart, s.a.
- Sept.-Ez *Septuaginta*. Vetus Testamentum graecum auctoritate Academiae scientiarum Göttingensis editum. Vol. XVI, pars 1. Ezechiel. Edidit Joseph Ziegler. 2. durchgesehene Auflage. Göttingen 1977.

- SlužKir      *Služba Kirillu*. Edition: Lavrov 1930: 108-111.
- SlužMin Jan. *Služebnaja Mineja, Janvar'*. Edition: *Mineja*. Janvar'. Čast vtoraja. Moskva 1983.
- Srezn. Mat. *Materialy dlja Slovarja drevne-russkago jazyka*. Trud I. I. Sreznevskago, I-III. SPb 1893, 1902, 1906; repr. Graz. 1969, Moskva 1989.
- SSP          *Slovesa svjatyx prorok*. Edition: Evseev 1907.
- Supr        *Codex Suprasliensis*. Edition: *Supraslski ili Retkov Sbornik*, V dva toma. J. Zaimov, Uvod i kommentar na starobalgarskija tekst; M. Capaldo, Podbor i kommentar na grčckija tekst. Sofija 1982-1983.
- TMO        *Tolkovanija ot mnog otec...* — Edition: Wątróbska 1987.
- Vat sl. 12    Roma, BAV Vat. sl. 12, XVII sec. Edition: Capaldo 1991.
- VC          *Vita Constantini*. — Editions: Bodjanskij 1863-73, Miklosich 1870, Lavrov 1930, Gošev 1938, Grivec-Tomšič 1960, Angelov-Kodov 1973, *Žitija Kirilla i Mefodija* 1986, Capaldo 1991.
- Viln. 80     Vilnius, CBAN, F. 119 N. 80, XVII sec., ff. 487-505 [*Vita Constantini*]
- VMC} Sent. *Velikie Minei Četii, sobrannye vserossijskim mitropolitom Makariem*. Sentjabr' 1-13. SPb 1866.
- Vulg.        *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*. Adiuvantibus B. Fischer osb, I. Gribo-mont osb, H. F. D. Sparks, W. Thiele recensuit et brevi apparatu instruxit R. We-ber osb. Editio tertia emendata ... I-II, Stuttgart 1983.
- Zogr.        *Codex Zographensis*. Edition: *Quattuor evangeliorum Codex glagoliticus olim Zographensis nunc Petropolitanus...* edidit V. Jagić. Berlin 1879, repr. Graz 1954.
- 13          Rilski Manastir, ms. of 1479. Edition: Gošev 1938.

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